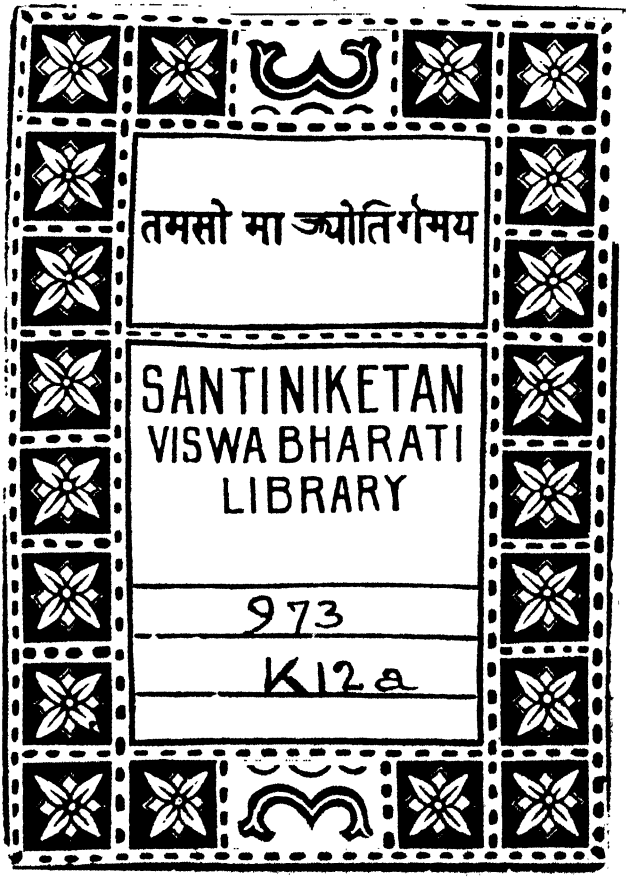

ॐ
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY
973
K12a

AMERICA
THE LAND OF SUPERLATIVES

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA



PHOENIX
PUBLICATIONS
BOMBAY 4

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

★ *First Impression, 1946* ★

Price Rupees Seven

★ ★ Printed by
B. G. Dhawale
at the Karnatak
Printing Press,
Karnatak House,
Chira Bazar,
BOMBAY 2 ★ ★

★ ★ Published by
K. B. Dhawale
for Phoenix
Publications,
Shri Samarth
Sadan, Girgaon,
BOMBAY 4 ★ ★

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This book is not an attempt to give a comprehensive study of America, but only to present certain aspects of American life as I have seen them and as I feel India would and should see them. Most conceptions that we have of foreign countries are often apt to be superficial, culled from passing glimpses caught during fleeting visits, or picked out of books, with the result we sometimes build up pictures that are far from the reality. Being intensely interested in the new world and its trends, I had read voraciously on America, met and talked with Americans before I visited that continent. Yet when I actually began to see the country for myself, I realised how little I knew of the real conditions and how different were things from the picture I had formed of them previously.

Although I have presented the material in this book objectively and impersonally, except for items like historical facts, statistical figures and appropriate quotations, the rest has been compiled out of my own personal study and observation of individuals, organisations, institutions, movements and the like. My interpretation of the various problems I have treated here, is the result of over 18 months of close study, during which I covered most parts of the United States and saw its many varied and contrasting aspects. The Federal Government at Washington and the several State Governments gave me the fullest facilities for this purpose. I got equal help and co-operation from the different organisations and institutions. I saw the day to day working of various Federal Departments and their Sections, such as the Women's and Children's Bureaus, the Home Economics

Section of the Department of Agriculture, etc., not only at their headquarters, but also in the various activities carried out in the urban and rural areas. I travelled in the little known South, living in Negro homes and sharing in their community life. I visited distressed areas like Oklohama, met the "Oakies", heard their tales and visited them again as they camped along the road in their ramshakle tumble-down cars on the highway to the West, disintegrated bits of a society which had crashed like a piece of China. I rode across the long desert country in the South-West to wander over the Indian Reservations, and see those ancient people in their own setting, hear their brave sagas, listen to their songs, see their arts and crafts and trace the pattern of their social life. I did a round of colleges and Universities, living in the campuses with the students, watching their daily life.

I attended the special classes run by social agencies like the Maternity Association, Home Economics Association and the like, observed the daily running of clinics and for the purpose of gaining practical experience donned even the uniform and became one of the workers on occasions. For a closer study I went behind the big stores to see the manifold administrative tasks which are curtained off from the public eye. I tried to understand the mysteries of vast libraries—undoubtedly one of the most complicated institutions. I went into the prisons, lock-ups and police courts. I worked with social agencies conducting investigations into the daily lives of the common people, kept close contacts with workers, labour organisers and leaders, as with industrialists, legislators and administrators. I saw the inside of posch hostels and the dark East-side slums of New York, breathing in the perfume and the stench, rubbing shoulder with the scintillating and the shadowy alike. I was a guest

in the stream-lined mansions of Long Island and the tumble-down shacks of Negro Share-Croppers in the South. These unique experiences that I seized are perhaps given to few. What I try to narrate here is the total summing up of these diversities and contrasts, the thrills and the shocks, the hopes and the despairs as I have known them in this gigantic New World.

India is sometimes given to looking at the United States with almost an awe. The fascination of the New World is gripping. But it is as well to remember it is not all glamour and glory. It may have proudly soared into the air and sped along sparkling highways. Still its basic problems remain as unsolved as our own. They are as much tied up in knots and caught up in the weeds as those of the Old World. We have as much to absorb from it as to discard. Where distance has lent enchantment, I hope this attempt at a close-up will serve to bring discernment and clarity.

KAMALADEVI

PRELUDE.

ONCE UPON A TIME, LONG LONG AGO.

The discovery of the American Continent, though unexpected, was no accident. If India had not been such an irresistible magnet that drew men from far and near, with its spices, dyes, perfumes, precious stones, silks, rugs and other luxuries which had become so indispensable to the rich of Europe, the finding of this gigantic continent might have been left to exigencies of chance. The eventual loss of Constantinople to the Turks deprived the Western traders of their valuable profits, and all the attempts of the Holy Crusaders to make these high ways safe for Christianity and trade failed. The waterway to India, the Jerusalem of the merchants, had hence to be discovered. One of the adventurers who set out on this mission, chartered the unchartered seas under the holy patronage of King Ferdinand, the "Protector of Faith and Trade" of that age. One fine morning he stumbled on what looked like a paradise on earth to him, and he concluded with complete self-assurance that this was India. Thus was the New World put on the map. The Yankee, however, tells this story his own way. This is how it goes: "When Columbus landed on our shores, he did not know he had discovered a new world and the Natives understood too little of geography to tell him better. So when he asked them if this was India, they said, "Sure Mike" and the name Indian has stuck to them ever since.' They have an equally ingenious explanation as to how it came to be called America. "An Italian named Americo (Americanised as Ameringer) discovered

that the land to the west of our coast is all water, from which he reasoned that the new country was on its own hook. A German map maker, by name Waldseemueller, thought Americo was a nice name, so he slapped it on, but being a little rusty on Italian, he spelled it 'America'." That is how it is explained why the original natives are known as Indians and the foreign settlers Americans, without the slightest claim of either to these titles. It is a fantastic mix up when one comes to think of it. The Americans luckily have no time to think and even less to listen to the interrogations of others.

The background of the early immigrants who sought refuge in this land, beginning with the noble May Flower from which the "Brahmins" of America claim their ancestry, is not all colour and light as it is popularly believed. It has a few dark patches too. But even the sun is said to have some dark spots, and the light glows nevertheless. So is it with American history.

No doubt, religious persecution played a definite part in driving people to seek these distant shores. But poverty was even a bigger factor in these migrations. Human herds flocked from Germany, which had become a howling wilderness through which stalked the wolves of hunger, reducing the population from 16 to 4 million. There were the Scotch-Irish, whose looms, their only means of subsistence, were destroyed by the English by an Act of Parliament and so they went Americaward. Then came the plain Irish (who have since most unstintingly supplied the Police Force for the U. S., even whose subsistence margin on which they lived under the feudal lords, was wiped out when their smiling lands were taken away by their English masters and made over to the gentle sheep that raised "all-wool" suits on their bodies, and they were turned adrift on the Atlan-

tic. Last but not the least were the English Puritans, to whom everybody who is anybody in the States, traces his illustrious ancestry.

"The history of our colonization is the history of the crimes of Europe", says Bankroft in his History of the U. S. The rulers of Europe's destiny looked upon this impish new continent very much as a municipality regards any depression in the land past beyond its own "sanitary" limits, as a natural dumping ground for its town's refuse. Into it were dumped prisoners of war, political rebels, felons, vagrants, unemployed, orphans and such other odd and assorted individuals. This is the beginning of White Slavery, a very dark and unhappy page in the early colonial history over which a discreet curtain is usually drawn. So it is best to let the historian McMaster, who has written so much on slavery, tell the story as transcribed in his "Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America." "One step above the black slaves were the convicts, and forming the largest number (ten thousand) exported from the Old Bailey prison in London. The indentured servant and redemptioner did not cease when the Colonies became United States. Generally the indentured were men, women or children, who unable to pay the passage, signed a contract called an indenture, before leaving the old World. The owner of the ship had to transport the slave, while the slave was bound to serve the master, or his assignees, for a certain number of years. On reaching port, the master sold the slave to recover his passage money to the highest bidder. The redemptioner was an immigrant who agreed with the shipping merchant that after reaching America he should be given a certain time in which to find somebody to redeem him by paying the passage money. Should he fail to find a

redeemer within a specific time, the ship's captain was at liberty to sell him to the highest bidder. If purchasers were not forthcoming, they were frequently sold to speculators, who drove them, chained together, through the country, from farm to farm, in search of a purchaser.

The contract signed, the newcomers became in the eyes of the law slaves, and in both the civil and criminal code were classed with Negro slaves and Indians. None of them could marry without the consent of the master or mistress under penalty of an additional seven years' service. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast off clothes of their owners, and flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. Father, mother and children could be sold to different buyers."

These white slave ships are said to have been almost as bad as the black slave ships. The black slaves were more valuable, for they were *bought* from the trappers at the source, while the white ones came free on their own. The white slaves also agreed that "surviving relatives of those who died at sea were responsible for the debts of the deceased." One ship in 1730 with 150 immigrants reached port with only 13 survivors, while one in 1746 with 400 Germans unloaded only 50 at its destination. The most horrible incident was that of a ship carrying 1500, of whom 1100 died on the voyage. Geiser in "The Redemptioners," says: "When land is sighted the wretches sing praise to God. But the rejoicings soon cease and give place to cries of despair because parents sell and trade away their children like so many cattle." In the early 19th Century the proportion of white slaves to the total immigrants was as high as two-thirds! This seems incredible in the land of the Puritans who founded the "American Cradle of Liberty'." An American writer has described this cradle as a rough piece of

furniture, and well might it be judging from the provisions adopted by the Colonial Legislature under the exalted title of "Body of Liberties," one of which provided for slavery under the following clause : " There shall be no bond slavery, villenage or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." This Cradle of Liberty, however, began to rock very violently when the quakers launched a great agitation in protest against slavery.

The Puritans according to history are said to have made a philosophy of " Blues" and hugged it. Anyway they embodied their sourness into legal enactments known as the " Blue Laws ", under which a Sunday was permitted to be as attractive as castor oil. Amusements were taboo, wearing of high heels for women a crime, and witch-burning about the only diversion. Their descendants describe them with the following illustration : " When a Puritan was caught telling a joke, he was soaked in salt water and then buried alive under a weeping willow, while the sinner who laughed at the joke was roasted to death first and buried in unhallowed ground afterwards."

Far more moving and shocking was the employment of child labour in the development of this new colony. The beginning of the 17th century saw the unloading of 14 to 15 hundred children, mainly kidnapped in the ports of England and Europe. The demand for them kept rising. In their Christian piety, those who called for more said it was for their good, or as an old Boston document recorded on this demand, " Transport over of poor children, may be great mercy to their bodies and souls."

If Europe was ruled by Baronial lords, America was run by Patrons which means those who " Patronised " or in other words managed to secure the labour on whom

they could live. England and Holland both of whom had colonies there, usually gave 16 miles of land to the patron who succeeded in persuading or bullying or even kidnapping 50 "working people" to cross the ocean. They were a wilder prototype of the old world's feudal lords. Each of them kept an army of retainers and rowdies, who fought and looted under his own standard. He also held the monopoly for each industry and for the raw produce of the area under his rule.

It is a short hop from white slavery to black. This trade began and flourished under the direct protection of the purple ermine, His Christian Majesty Charles II, Defender of the Faith (and needless to say of Trade) conducted by the Company of Royal Adventures' Trade To Africa, with the Duke of York and the Dowager Queen, "let in on the ground floor," as the Yankees would say. The common man insisting on the principle of his rights to a share in this lucrative trade, made Parliament cut into this royal monopoly. The Puritans were amongst some of the loudest demanders. And though slavery in the long run ceased to be profitable, the slave trade continued to hold the market, the slave dealers playing important roles in various Colonial affairs.

The American Revolution was not a revolution in the social sense, it was more a war for national independence in which not even all the people of the country joined. Quite a section was pro-England, some so violently that when the break came, it actually quit the country for good, crossing over into Canada to remain English "For ever".

Colonial economy is chiefly a noose which strangles the country in yoke. The English business-class regarded their American colonies as their picking. Exports from the colonies were regulated in such a way that all the

raw materials and food stuffs which England needed had to be sent to England. Trade in such articles with any other country was forbidden. In the case of those raw materials that England also produced, not only were the colonies forbidden from sending them to England to avoid competition but to any other manufacturing country, lest it enter the list of England's competitors! The navigation law forbade importation of goods into the colonies except in English ships. The colonies could not trade freely even with each other. Their ports were closed to foreign ships. Imports of manufactured articles into the colonies were confined to English manufactures, laden and shipped in England and in English built, English manned vessels. Where ships carried American cargo to other countries under the above stated regulation, the ship had to make for an English port to fill up with cargo for the return trip, or come back empty, since foreign imports except on very prohibitive duties, were not permitted. The 256 N.L. Stamp Act put the final seal on this volcanic situation. Curiously enough this was primarily a tax on white slavery and other forms of servitude. It provided that the full sum of money or other consideration agreed upon between masters and servants should be correctly entered on indentures, and the date of signing be given. The penalty of violation of this provision was a forfeit of double the sum and the master could be sued for violation of contracts. This was a blow to the slave-drivers and ship-masters, for it made investment in the human commodity risky. The rising temper against the mother country now began to foam at the brim. The would-be American traders, industrialists, financiers resolved to bid for economic freedom.

Wendell Phillips in one of his historic speeches said: "Our Revolution of 1776 succeeded because trade and

wealth joined hands with principle and enthusiasm—a union rare in revolutions. Northern traders fretted at England's refusal to allow them direct trade with Holland, and the West Indies. So merchants and planters joined heartily to get independence" In the words of a modern American journalist "the employing classes furnished the cause, idealists supplied the power, and the commoner the cannon fodder." These were not the issues before the masses, though their interests no doubt were affected by the disastrous economy imposed on the colony. For instance, the sensation over tea-tax could not have meant very much to those who were too poor to indulge in that beverage. The Boston "Tea Party" was, however, due to quite a different reason—the dumping of cheap Indian tea on the American market. The unduly severe restrictions on trade had served to encourage smuggling on a vast scale. This enabled the American traders to sell the smuggled-in tea cheaper than that exported by English traders who had to pay an export duty in England and an import duty in America. When the English Parliament finally rebated the export duty to the British traders, allowing them to sell their tea as cheap as the smugglers, the American traders decided to make short work of this competition. They threw the accumulated tea-stock overboard.

It was a motley crowd that shouldered their rifles and marched to the war. Those were times when most men —in fact any one who wished to prove the survival of the fittest—had to handle a gun. For in those wild days land-hungry men roved the country-side as gangsters infest the cities of to-day, and each man had to be his own fortress to defend his hearth and home. When the war drums sounded, each had but to take down his gun from where it hung over the fire place and assemble, and lo, there was an army.

Even normally there was no standing army as such at the time. The available forces were the State militia men, hastily collected and trained and committed to short periods of service, under no obligation to serve outside their State. The need of a full-time and scientifically trained army against the British regulars was pressing. Supplies had to be built up and organised. By luck some old forts that fell into their hands contained British arsenals which came in handy in this terrible emergency. For a party, outnumbered and out-equipped, military strategy had to be governed by political considerations as well, in order to keep up the morale in the face of so many odds; and what was most discouraging was the exasperating indifference of the Congress whose attitude would have driven lesser men than these undaunted soldiers and a lesser general than Washington, to frenzy. For the Congress would supply neither troops nor their pay, nor even the elementary equipment to Washington. In the winter of 1776-77, the game seemed nearly up.

The home front faced an equally discouraging situation. America at the time was not a single country. It was 13 colonies which had been hustled into a hastily improvised Federation. A harmonious welding by the ironing out of the jealousies and sectionalism of the States could not be expected overnight, not to speak of the unravelling of the personal intrigues against Washington himself in addition. There was no nation and therefore no national unity. The League of Friendship (American was not more than that at the time) set up by the articles of Confederation was feeble and inadequate. In fact it often threatened to turn into a League of Dissensions and made Washington define it "as States united by a rope of sand," and drove Benjamin Franklin into giving a stern warning: "We must all hang

together or we shall all hang separately." The Government was unable to overcome the aversion of the people to taxes and could not muster together the means wherewith to carry on the functions of the government or pay its army. In despair the President exclaimed, "The wheels of the Government are clogged !" The most difficult task which fell to Washington was to carry the Congress with him and shape it into an effective instrument of a nation in embryo. For this he had to be the supreme citizen first and soldier afterwards. His genius showed itself poignantly under the most trying conditions. It was a situation fraught with physical as well as psychological difficulties, when he had to train, drill and harden his army on lean rations and poor equipment in an unusually hard winter, whilst complications beset him through constant and irritating misunderstandings between the American and the French commands who came to their aid. It was only his tact and courtesy that helped tide over many storms and bridge many gaps and finally win the war. Truly might one echo what Churchill said in World War II of the British R. A. F., "never had so many owed so much to so few," in the American instance to Washington and his handful of men. He had organised his army out of so little, trimmed the Congress to its duty, while remaining the humble servant of both.

The American War of Independence is undoubtedly a highlight of history, however ragmuffin an affair it may have seemed in its local setting, and it was no spectacular show of bright uniforms, or burnished arms and polished boots and certainly down in the famous Valley Forge they faced a last lean winter until Lafayette arrived with the Christmas Gifts that turned the tide. As real values go, the United States is more powerful to-day than the British Empire whose dust it brushed off its boots, but remained

nevertheless its strongest ally, sometimes pulling its charred chest-nuts out of the fire for it, which proves a political truism, that a free country is a truer ally and a greater source of strength than a colony which is indeed its weakest link. Unfortunately this valuable truism and its significance seem entirely lost upon England and other imperialist countries.

The North American revolt had positive and decisive results on the trend of events in the Western Hemisphere and the world at large. It set the stage for the break away of the whole Southern Continent from the old world and the liberation of its millions from foreign rule. It also paved the way for a new experiment by a band of men and women inspired by a yearning for a new way of life, who wanted it to be the land of the Pilgrim Fathers, the haven of all pioneers. They did not wish all their toil and agony to go in vain. They wanted scented blossoms to flower out of the imprints of their bleeding feet. It was this spirit which found expression in the solemn, moving, and beautiful declaration of freedom, America's richest legacy to all mankind, "We take it to be self-evident that all men are born free and equal, with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying foundations on such principles and organising in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The Bill of Rights carry the stamp of the people and truly form the bulwark of American liberty, especially as embodied in the first two articles :—

1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press ; or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

But alas, the pressure of world economy was too strong a tide for the mortals of this country to withstand. The big interests were already in the saddle, the effort to dislodge them too weak. So instead of cutting a new highway, it set its wheels on the same old beaten track. It took up from where Europe left off. The New World lost its first golden opportunity. The American way of life became only a streamlined version of Europe's old pattern.

CHAPTER 1.

THE HERMITAGE OF THE PILGRIMS.

I

When the weary eyed but indomitable Pilgrims landed on the bleak New England coast from the historic May Flower, they commenced not merely to open up a new continent but also to found a new way of life. The stamp of those early fathers can still be traced everywhere. The privations and perils they faced on that inhospitable promontary may have burned into their progeny the zest to face and conquer—the slogan of the pioneer. The American civilization has been described as a nomadic one. Founded by wanderers, it was nurtured and built up by further batches of adventurers who passed on to their descendents an enviable legacy of fearlessness, an ability to face unfamiliar landscapes, challenge new horizons, battle with unknown factors, and adjust to strange situations. These have now become the national characteristics of the American people. Over the decades, other nomads came to this land of the pilgrims : outlawed politicians, defeated revolutionaries, victims of social and religious persecutions and race-feuds ; dregs of prisons ; refugees from law ; scum from the underworld. To one and all this New World gave refuge, true to the Pilgrim tradition. To one and all it was a haven of shelter, a land of hope where life could be started anew. It seemed indeed like God's own country and to belong to His people. It was like a great oriental temple whose portals lie for ever wide open, the perpetual symbol of ready welcome.

This tradition stands even as the Statue of Liberty, holding aloft the torch to guide the wanderer to these hospitable shores, with this beautiful inscription at its base :—

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuge of your teeming shore,
> Send these, the tempest tost to me;
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Not all the immigration restrictions have been able to hold back the ever growing bands of pilgrims. This decade has marked an unusual migration, such as perhaps the world had not witnessed for many many centuries. History now opens a new chapter in the annals of America's growth. The finest flowers of every nation, the custodians of its art and culture, and above all, of its liberty, have sought this great land even as did the Pilgrim Fathers of the May Flower, bringing with them those matchless gifts that rare genius alone can offer. The greatest of the great now stand within this temple of refuge. They have come from every land, from the black mountains of Scandinavia to the sunny olive-scented Mediterranean coast. Poets, musicians, sculptors, scientists, philosophers, builders of the world of yesterday and to-morrow, they from whom humanity inherits immortal things. Never in human memory has such good fortune befallen a single country, all within half a decade or less. What lucky star was it that rose over Manhattan to guide these kings of thought and beauty from their far-off kingdoms to this strange mongrel Island, to make a rich land richer, its great destiny greater. For could it be just an accident? Well may we echo the great poet, "Is there a divinity which shapes our ends?" Whether there be a purposeful force behind this or not, America has been the magnet of the world since Columbus took the wrong tur-

ning and bumped into the old New World. Pre-determined or accidental, America continues to be a kind of land of destiny to which come the Great Pilgrims of the world, the seekers after the nectar of the gods, the Herculeses scouring the wide seas for the golden fleece, the alchemists striving to find the secret metal, the spring of eternal youth.

The area of the U. S. is a little over three million square miles. Barring the Soviet Union, with which it has little in common except vastness, size and population, it is the most unique country in the world, diverse in physical features, ranging from snow-clad mountains to burning deserts, with a climate which varies from below zero to scorching sunshine, its people drawn out of almost every country's nationals from Cairo to Peru. This strangely rich and glittering kaleidoscopic scene is counter-balanced by an equally impressive uniformity of living, language, habits, education, mode of thought, culture, food, such as only the modern world is capable of. The many diverse strands have all got woven into a single picture of one country, one nation, one loyalty. The country can be roughly divided into four regions :—The eastern sea-board, the Middle West, the Pacific Coast and the South, each very distinct with its own peculiar characteristics.

The eastern sea board is the most important and best known to the outside world. It may be called the heart throb of America for that is where Wall Street and Big Business are. Some of the other regions of America are, however, as unlike the East as Europe is unlike America. The Eastern Seaboard faces Europe and is emotionally and commercially more involved with that continent than any other part. The Pacific coast is literally the other side of the world. There is an enormous difference in the two of climate, of time, (a solid four hours), with a linking journey

covering four days (with some of the fastest services in the world) from coast to coast almost giving one the feeling of crossing over from Paris to Constantinople. It is a terrific change from the crisp, sharp air of the east to the soft mellow warmth of the west. The tempo too gets slower, and life grows more rounded and colourful. One slowly sinks into the luxuriance of leisure and the desire to dream, while on the Atlantic coast, one is prodded and pushed around, tossed on a turbulent tide by a restlessness that knows no abating. For New York never sleeps, it is eternally ablaze and aflutter. In the west, one stands on the threshold to the orient, and the air one breathes, the sky which yawns above seem diffused with its problems, intricacies and colourfulness. Caught between these two planks is the Middle West, with its centre at Chicago. It is the great wheat belt, the land of farmers, where the rulers of rural America live. Economically and politically, it is equally important in American affairs. Its strategic value is even greater, for it surely holds and tips the scales on many an important issue. Its eyes don't gaze over the vast expanse of water either Europeward or Asiaward. They naturally turn inwards towards its own self.

Far away from any of these is the South. In many ways, it is a region almost apart. The south seems yet in the process of becoming a part of the rest of the continent. It is still caught in the psychological background of having lost its war. It has the highest proportion of Negroes and also of illiterates. It is comparatively a far less developed region, emphatically rural, with few industries. The unevenness of its growth is demonstrated by the fact that the 13 Southern States which cover ¼ of the country and 27% of its people, own half the nation's farms, 90% of the sulphur and phosphates, 2/3 of the oil and gas, ¼ of the electric power

and 40% lumber production ; in short with 40% of the natural resources it possesses only 12% of the manufactures and finances. This has necessarily meant the lowest standard of living for its 36,500,000 people Though basically the problem of America is the same all over, each of these regions has its own peculiar ones.

The South may be called predominantly Anglo-Saxon. It does not seem to have had the chance to get over the impact of the defeat which has been further accentuated by the subtle as well as obvious power exercised by the northern Corporations, as farm after farm, estate after estate has passed out of the hands of Southerners into the Northerners' grabbing paws. The attitude of the South is in some ways almost reminiscent of a colonial country towards the ruling one. To them the Northerners are still the "Yankees", the distant city "cousins" who condescend to saunter down to these backwoods to flaunt their wealth. To the East, the South is still the backward region, the land of the "poor white trash," of churches and Bible Societies, of Jimcrow carriages and lynchings, altogether a country to be pitied and patronised.

The population of the U.S.A. according to the latest census is 140 million, and shows the smallest increase in American history since 1930, with a distinct tapering of the birth line. For upto then the increase had been one of the wonders of the world, from 2½ million in 1776 to 122 in 1930. Moreover, following the unstable condition of economic cycles, immigration became restricted and was brought under severe control by the introduction of quotas for some nationals, and total shutting out of others like those of South-Eastern Asia, only recently modified by allotting a small symbolic quota to China. The object obviously was not merely to curtail the number but also control the composition

through the arbitrary manipulation of the quota, a heavier weightage being given to what may be called the "Anglo-Saxon."

Curiously enough the immigration axe was applied to the Indians although India was not in S. E. Asia and Indian Labour never did threaten American standards, as the American Federation of Labour, theoretically insists. Nor was the Indian population at any time in the U.S. very large. Still for some unreasonable reason, Indians were entirely debarred, whilst quotas were given to the Middle and Near Eastern People. This was followed by the next step of depriving Indians of citizenship rights while Arabs, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians still continued to enjoy them. The legal interpretation of this regulation by the Supreme Court was that to the man in the street the Indians would not seem to belong to the Caucasian race! This loss of citizenship has meant no end of distress to the Indian community, now fast dwindling down into the neighbourhood of three thousand. Particularly in the Western States an increasing number of legislative measures tie their hands and prevent their owning land or carrying on business. The older members live on sufferance under the perpetual menacing shadow of the Immigration Department, whose petty officials keep on harassing them. Their position is pathetic for they enjoy none of the rights they are entitled to, and having made U.S. their home for so long, are unable to lightly abandon it. Scores of them, however, are seized unceremoniously from time to time by the Immigration authorities, in most cases very unjustly, and shipped back to India, sometimes after having spent half a century abroad. Most Americans are either unaware of all this or indifferent. The fact, however, remains that every single attempt made by a few enlightened and logical-minded Americans to give back to the Indians

the rights they were so unreasonably dispossessed of, has been sternly resisted by some of those noisy reactionary bodies like the Daughters of the Revolution, the American Legion, the Federation of Labor and the like, whilst a few progressive bodies and individuals have espoused this worthy cause. An examination of the laws of 35 leading countries of the world shows that with one solitary exception, Germany, the U.S. stands alone in discriminating against certain races in regard to citizenship. But America is no more predominantly Anglo-Saxon though the impression prevails that this minority element still rules. The diversity of population has resulted in a greater wealth of production and a larger variety of specialised jobs, as in a wider variety of flora, vegetables, methods of cooking and types of dishes; for the immigrant from each country has brought his or her own special contribution to the national bouquet.

As one wanders through the country, one comes across distinctive groups, little and big colonies of immigrants, who continue to cling to their own old way of life, to their languages and customs, forming exotic islands in this vast sea of Americanism. The important national minorities are 13,000,000 Negroes, 300,000 American-Indians, 1,50,000 Mexicans, 2,50,000 Orientals, forming in all about 11% of the total population. But the next generation takes roots and draws its sap from the land of its birth. These children show no links with the countries of their parents, slip as naturally into the American pattern of life as they do into the American tongue. Harlem, the coloured quarter of New York covering 3 Sq. miles has been called the "Anthropologists' Heaven" with a mixed population of Americans, Africans, West and East Indians, Peurto Ricans, Italians, Chinese, Philippians, Indians, Haitians and a host of others.

Yet this homogeneity has been woven like an intricate pattern into which have been fitted many diverse lines and shades, and each variety has but enriched the design. The stalwart daring Nordics weathered by the stern mountains and icy winds of Northern Europe ; the soft dreamy southerners with their wealth of warmth and abandon ; the exotic ones from South Eastern Europe with their strange blend of the Bohemian, the Gypsy, the colourful and the picturesque, the heroic and the romantic ; the silent mystical orientals with their abstruse philosophy ; the nimble and the stodgy, the fair and the dark, the industrious and the slothful, all have gone into this crucible and produced the men and women of the New World, given it richness and colour, variety and movement, rhythm and grace.

The U.S. is not only a new world but it is also a young world. Its people have many of the characteristics of the young. They are restless. Such a blending of peoples, cultures, ways of living could hardly have produced subdued temperaments. They are still immature in some ways. They make those of the old world feel very old and rather ancient. There is something childlike about the Americans which is disarming, and which endows them at the same time, with an unusual freshness. Like all people in a flux, their standards are still unformed. They are therefore easier to please than people elsewhere. They are warm and friendly, easy and informal. That is one of their greatest attractions and assets especially to the orientals who usually seem to like them best of all western people. To the orientals the westerners' reserve and aloofness present a barrier that is not easily broken. Whereas with the American the warmth of spirit cuts an easy path to a quick intimacy, and the informality admits of no fences or walls. The Americans take people easily to their heart. Their

hospitality is more home-like than lavish and readily offered. It is this which the Europeans, especially English regard as lack of reserve in American life. In spite of their restlessness and rush they succeed in putting others at ease even in short encounters. Even in business, they have nothing of the stiff collar and the stern office manners about them. They are accessible and easy to deal with, no matter what high office they may hold or how important they may be. They are essentially human, men and women first, everything else afterwards.

The Americans love comfort and are dependent on things which may be regarded as luxuries by other people. But on the whole their external make up is simpler. There is nothing ostentatious about their homes or ways, except for the few exotic millionaires who can hardly be deemed representative of the American people. There is a rounded finish and freshness about their homes. No home is without a bath, in truth the shower is fast becoming an indispensable article. It is to be found in the poorest of quarters. A bath is a necessity and not a luxury (an extra) as in Europe. Their office is a living room with the ease and comfort of a home and not a motley conglomeration of desks, chairs and cupboards. No matter in which country the office may be located one can recognise the American touch by the very feel of the place. I am sure one could live in an American office almost as cosily as in an American home.

Their language even as their mannerisms is warm and friendly, and their slang most expressive. Even on the telephone, an instrument that reduces burning poetry to a cold impersonal timbre, the American lingo pulses and the distance vanishes. It were as though the voice were a tangible image in the room, suffusing the dead instrument with a

living breath. It makes you feel at least for the moment that you alone mattered to the person at the other end. It is done without flattery, without affluence and certainly with no conscious effort. It is just their way as is the deep solemn bow of the Japanese.

They are a tempestuous people who seem to go marching all over, like steam rollers, but there is nothing bumptious about them. That is their distinctive way of being powerful yet not hard or overbearing. It is said that an Englishman looks as though he rules the world, whereas an American behaves as though he possessed the world. In certain respects, they are superficial. It is partly due to their restlessness, a faulty sense of time and unformed standards. If the dollar may be deemed to be their ruling deity, time may be termed their ruling star. The close association of the two may largely account for some of their characteristics. They have now arrived at a stage where this time-obsession has become a part of their normal reflexes. They must save time; so they must hurry. They don't tarry to dwell on the importance of it. If they are asked why they must always hurry, they look bewildered. It leaves them little time to stop to think. There is the famous story of an American trying to hurry a chinaman into the New York underground to take a certain train. "If we miss this there is no train for another 2½ minutes" gasped the New Yorker. The Chinaman looking wiser than ever asked in a quiet tone "What exactly do we do with the 2½ minutes when we have saved them?" For answer the New Yorker simply grabbed the oriental and pushed him down into the underground. The bewildered visitor to America still keeps asking the question. But America finding even the electric train slow is straining to take to wings. Time is measured

by the second and its fraction thereof. The minute is growing slow, old and obsolete.

Their childlikeness makes them inquisitive and thereby serves to keep them alert and alive. They are not shy in putting questions though they have not yet developed patience enough to listen to the answers. They must move on to something else before the minute is out. If a car stops in the middle of the road and there is the slightest delay (delay in terms of a second and its fraction) war is declared immediately on that car and a violent hooting barrage is opened by all the car horns, until the very skies are rent asunder.

American life is so symbolic of " Hop into the car and step on the gas—". The car is their most natural vehicle, though no doubt the plane will rightly replace it soon. They own cars as others own suits of clothes. It seems an essential part of their equipment. It is difficult to imagine them before the advent of the car. Practically every earning member of a family tries to have one. They take to driving as easily as others to smoking. When they speak of taking a short run, it may mean anything from a couple of miles to a thousand. They change cars as they change hats. The richer ones change theirs almost every year. They quickly tire of the old and while a car may look sleek to us it has already become scrap to the owner, to be exchanged for a new one. And so the car producers go on turning out newer types every quarter, lower and longer bodies that skim like silent panthers, swishing the air. No wonder a car to every four has created some real problems undreamed of hitherto, traffic congestion, lack of parking space and motor accidents. The magnificent high ways for long travel though very attractive and impressive hardly touch even the fringe of the problem particularly during

rush hours and week-end outings when the car defeats itself and becomes the slowest mode of transport. On the highways once a car gets into the run, it becomes a link in a chain gang, riveted to keep moving between the two never ending lines of cars in front and behind. Driving under these conditions loses quite a bit of its exhilaration, feeling of free abandon, and sense of privacy, all such a part of a joy ride.

Parking is a greater nuisance. There are a limited number of parking plots where a small fee is charged by the hour. Otherwise one has to park the car a long way from one's destination. It is always more convenient to use the bus or underground in the city. Often a car left conveniently handy in a place gets locked in by scores of cars which get parked on all sides until your own car gets completely imprisoned. Last but not the least, is the staggering number of motor accidents somewhere in the neighbourhood of 35 thousand annually, the highest records being for the holidays and week-ends. Once when the U. S. press poured scorn on Mexico for a hundred killed in an election fracas, the Mexican press retaliated by quoting the fantastic figures for car fatalities in the U. S., 628 on one single Independence Day ! It is a high price to pay for owning 75% of the world's pleasure cars. Los-Angeles has the highest registration, 8,07,000. U. S. Cities' traffic can be best described by quoting the following news item :

"In Wichita, Kansas, pedestrian John Hancock was bumped by an automobile that pitched him in front of a second car going in the opposite direction. The second car tossed him in front of a third which pushed him into a fourth that hit him. Strangest of all, he survived."

As the automobile has grown progressively cheaper, the dependence of the American on it has grown greater,

especially of the farmers and ranch-owners living miles away from the main road or the village. In 1938, the number of vehicles rose to nearly 30 millions and literally the entire population could have been packed into the cars and put on the roads! The Federal W. P. A. projects included highway constructions for motorists and soon U. S. A. was on the way to becoming the auto-drivers' paradise. The roads lengthened to 12,00,000 miles. A highly favourable transport system helped American people maintain their migratory character. Those who did not own cars, could use buses, those who failed to possess bus fares, could hitchhike. America still kept going on the road as in the pioneer days. It produced the trailers and whole families went on the road and kept moving from State to State, belonging to none, creating a new problem of its own. Most appropriately the chief sensation of the New York's World Fair was the mammoth theme centre, an odd shaped structure called the "Trylon and Perisphere," the Trylon being a slender 700 feet triangular pyramid on obelisk, the Perisphere a giant 200 feet ball. Both were connected with each other by a ramp, 65 feet above the ground. The Perisphere contained the city of tomorrow. When one entered this structure under the Trylon, one stepped on the largest moving stairway ever built, which carried the visitor right into the heart of the Perisphere, where two ring-shaped platforms were revolving around the Perisphere. It gave one the feeling of viewing the city of tomorrow from a plane, a colossal panorama taking in the metropolis and the surrounding country, all seeming to blend into indefinite space. This horizon on the domed walls of the Perisphere, contained every known constellation. In this city, one saw good aerial highways, multiple skyscrapers and immense layouts, worked with a scientific precision so as to make

congestion a long forgotten memory. It is but a dream to-day, yet if America wills it, she can make it a reality tomorrow. Already the U. S. is a marvel in non-stop highways on which you glide for hours on end, clean, smooth as silken ribbons, on which four cars can run abreast with cleaned cutoffs, the stone over-passes bearing the stamp of acute precision. Said Riviera the famous Mexican Artist : " These highways are the most beautiful things I have seen. In all the constructions of man's past : pyramids, Roman roads and aqueducts, cathedrals and places, there is nothing to equal these. . . ."

At the same time, many valuable advantages have been accrued to the people as a consequence of their amazing mobility. They have for instance come to learn far more about their homeland in a new and vivid way. It is as though the whole country were a class room of national demonstration, the people moving from one project and monument to another, feeling and reaching out to the immensity and endless variety of the country, its joys and its sadness, its successes and its failures ; watching electricity going to farm houses, hospitals and libraries, recreation centres springing up everywhere while side by side the homeless and tramps who had lost the battle of life trudge, wearily along. Their hearts heave with pride as they look upon the pre-historic wonders, the national parks, famous houses, battle sites, ruined forts all carefully preserved thanks to Governmental interest and care. That the American people have taken avowedly to these visual lessons is proved by the increase of annual visitors to these historic museums from 3 million in 1933 to 17 by 1940 !

The telephone has to be as handy as a tooth brush. There are some 22½ million telephones in the country. Americans talk over long distances as they would across

the table. Important discussions, business deals, even directors' meetings are conducted over the telephone.

Many devices for saving time in every-day life have been contrived. Two of the most popular are the meals at the counter where you perch upon high stools right at the counter where the dish comes through a slit from the kitchen, and is straightway put before you and you gobble it down just as fast as you can, without scorching your mouth. The other is the automat, where you slip money into a slot and out comes the dish. Each slot indicates the dish it will cough up and its price, when you manipulate the machine with the coin. The automats are hot favourites and fearfully crowded at all times of the day.

Entrances to the underground railway and to many of the buses are also manipulated by the slot machine. It eliminates all the bother of purchasing a ticket. A coin is inserted into the slot machine and automatically the little barrier shifts and you enter.

A sad feature of American life is man's loss of the art of sitting still, and of enjoying solitude; of forgetting the great ancient truth that living is *being*, not merely *doing*; that achievement cannot be measured by acquisition but by the striving. Are they any happier for all this colossus they have built? One wonders. Their life is crowded—a little too crowded—with things. There is a strain in the air and a tension in their eyes, hardly in keeping with all the material ease that is America. May be when they learn that sitting still is not idleness, that silence is not emptiness and solitude not loneliness, their spirits will cease to flutter like restless ghosts and their eyes lose their strain.

They think, live and build in superlatives, always the child in them coming to the surface. It needs to be a child to take delight in possessing the largest, biggest, tallest, heaviest, mightiest, grandest, the delight of possessing the rare, the unusual, the most highly priced ; in having what nobody else has, and displaying it with all the child's delight. There is the story of an American tourist in Italy who refused to be impressed by anything he was shown, always insisting that his own land had something better. Finally the exasperated guide pointed to Mt. Vesuvius in action and exclaimed, "Now you have not got a thing like that!" "No, we may not, but we have a hose big enough to put this fire out" retorted the unbeatable Yankee. Here are a few of the achievements they delight in, to enumerate them all would be impossible. Largest bridges :—Hudson in New York—Bay in San Fransisco. Longest pipe-line, 1265 miles from Texas to West Virginia. Largest commercial art gallery on 5th Avenue N. Y. City. Highest structure : Empire State Building. Largest diamond costing 87,00,000 cut into 23 smaller ones costing 2,00,000, cutting needed a year's study and 15 months for sawing. World's southermost city Punta Arenas. Longest run drama : Tobacco Road. Largest drive-in theatre, north of Chicago, where 15 hundred cars can be accommodated, combined with a filling station and a hot-dog stand. Largest zoo and aquarium in the world. Largest amount spent on tobacco—1 billion 600 million. Longest streets—Los Angeles 2000 miles of streets. Coulee Dam the largest structure ever built by man. The Boulder Dam on Columbia surpasses even the Greatest Pyramid, larger than the next 20 largest Dams in the U. S. combined. Ford Plant, Detriot, largest : size 1200 acres ; produces 5000 cars a day, about 80,000 a month ; consumes

3000 tons of iron daily ; 25000 cars owned by the employees ; 87 acres for parking ; largest single work-room in the world covering 64 acres and 1½ miles long ; 60,000 dollars paid out daily in wages ; 150 towels used by the workmen every day. New Ford Plant at Willow Run : The workroom a mile long, with 90,000 men working in it ; the plants for errands run on automobiles from end to end ; it covered five miles of blue-print paper for the plans, took six months to complete working seven hours a day ; turned out four motored bombers every hour ; each bomber has 1,01,650 parts, laced together by 4,00,000 rivets all put together on a continuously moving assembly line ; average production 100 planes a day. Alas, our mature minds will perhaps smile rather indulgently, perhaps patronisingly, at all this exuberance. Alas, for our lost delight of stretching out our hands to the moon with that utter confidence of success a child alone is capable of. Like all youthful people, the Americans are daring. They try to reach out to the very skies. The fable of Jack and Beanstalk seems like being enacted all over again. Their ambitions are unbounded and soar like their giant flying fortresses right into the stratosphere. If they can't pluck the moon and hang it in Times Square, they will do the next best, create an artificial one. That is America. It is a grand spirit to have, and to treat it with contempt as the old world often does, may be only a camouflage for less worthy emotions. And though one may archly say the artificial moon is just pathetic tinsel yet the ambition to reach out to what seems out of reach, to make the impossible possible, is a commendable one. What unfortunately America forgets is that one need not *possess* a thing in order to enjoy it, that may be the moon is best enjoyed from where it is, and not when owned by the R.C.A. or the General Electric, and is probably better appreciated

by their not being able to switch it on for 365 nights. If they were to learn from us a little to sit still—what we do a little too much—they may find wisdom in some of our half remembered thoughts, and rest in our relaxed postures. This urge for the new, the unusual, the unfamiliar sometimes also leads some of them into being ludicrous, often because that makes headlines in the press. Here are a few culled at random from the newspapers, which make America seem like a land of fantasy. "In Cincinnati, Mrs. Leena Coffin won along with her divorce, the custody of a carnival exhibit, a two-headed baby preserved in alcohol." "Wealthy Lucy Collon Thoma Ament Ham Magroa 49, married for the second time her fifth husband, a Georgian Prince." "Lady Decus sued for divorce confessed: 'I married Lord Decus so that I could attend the coronation.'" "A cafe society artist who went on rotating between divorce and marriage explained, "I love marriage."

"Maria Millis 91, divorced Husband 73 for woman chasing."

"Corice changed her name to Conee as she tired of dotting the i's."

"Scrap aluminium collection in a night club was manipulated by one old pot for entrance to see gypsy Rose Lee, clank clank, around, in and finally out of a bizzarre costume of aluminium kitchen ware. Title of dance Pan Pan."

Equally brazen may seem to us, Reno's boast of the highest record for divorce—the latest figure having reached an all-high peak of 58 actions a day. As a matter of fact Reno makes real business out of it. Its laws are deliberately maintained at a lax level to draw intended divorce-hunters, as a source of income, just as national monuments and well laid out cities are made to draw revenues from

tourists. It is just accepted as business. That it is at a social, and moral cost, seems to worry few. If racing can be patronised by even a Socialist State, why not easy divorce facilities, say some of the hard-headed business-minded Americans.

Nowhere perhaps is a circus so popular or its possibilities so exploited as in sophisticated New York city. The famous Ringling Circus is a grand parade, with glorious floats and glittering equipages in royal purple and gold, rolling down with hundreds of characters in procession, from Mother Goose to King Cole, from Marco Polo to Napoleon.

Paris has so long been the centre of world fashions and Paris shops have been so much rhapsodied over that one rarely associates America with fashions. Yet American women certainly dress well and New York shops are some of the most exciting and original in the world. Window-dressing is a highly specialised job, and paid as much as $4,00,000 a year. Often the window becomes as scenic and alive as a stage. For instance in a window was reproduced a whole church door with stained glass and a real grass lawn in front. Through this door paraded dozens of models wearing a variety of costumes from bridal dresses to military uniforms. Once a day six choirs stepped into the window and carol-ed Georgian chants, the music being relayed by amplifiers to the street; the military however, took offence and protested, and the Police on its part served notice on the shop for broadcasting without license! The General Electric used to depict in its window an oasis in the desert with an electric water cooler.

America has, needless to say, the largest store in the world, Macy's. It rises 20 stories into the Manhattan skies and goes three stories underground where the store makes its own light and heat and from where the avalanche of

packages are sent all over the world. It stands in one of New York's busiest thoroughfares where 5,00,000 people are supposed to come in by public transport, not counting the thousands who come by car or on foot. The store covers 20,12,000 square feet with another store for reserve stock covering 11,72,566 sq. ft. It has ten selling floors, the customers getting about the shop on 55 passenger elevators and 58 escalators. There operate 118 miles of veins and arteries down which travel 44,000 packages. All the electricity is generated by themselves. On an average a quarter of a million dollars worth of merchandise comes in every day and the store holds 16 millions worth. It has 168 departments, each a shop in itself, containing 3,94,000 types of articles, 4,500 pieces in furniture alone, and 12,000 in toys, many of them being the store's manufactures. It buys from 19,000 manufacturers and wholesalers, 95% American and only 5% foreign goods, through its own buying offices all over the world. Creating new articles is one of its most important functions through an array of "Stylists." It has produced for instance 376 chintz designs. Shoppers are provided with an expert guide to help buy things in this labyrinthine store. There are 700 interpreters speaking 29 languages for this purpose. On an average, 1,37,000 people shop at Macy's every day. Some 2,00,000 have cash deposits there, which under certain conditions carry interest. Anything except wines and liquors can be purchased on "Cash time purchase books," each containing $25 of purchase certificates which are accepted in place of cash for purchases, and five months in which to pay for the book. It has its own fleet of delivery cars which distribute 52,700 packages over an area of 13,000 miles.

One of America's advantages is that it is one of the latest to develop at the hands of the pioneers. A good deal

of that pioneering spirit still prevails. It was a country sought by those who wished to turn their backs upon the old and start afresh. Its structure is rested not on privilege of birth and traditions or on blood and caste. It rests on labour and hard industry. Benjamin Franklin struck the key note when he said: "Only those who can work with their hands as with their brains go there. The country could not support those who expect the privilege of their birth to maintain them."

The country has had the additional advantage of starting free of feudalism which has meant freedom from the feudal checks upon money and power, the privileges of birth, and the labelling of people by their parental caste. Here a child's life is circumscribed purely by the opportunities open to it and what it is able to make of them. The phrase "Gentlemen" in the feudal sense would evoke merely a curl of the lips. A "Come down in life" in the old world sense, is not such a social catastrophe in America. Friends would simply expect the victim to roll up his sleeves and get down to the job double quick. Only a man who is not able to make good is a failure.

There are no rigid barriers dividing society into castes. The classes are fluid and individuals move from one into the other easily, with little self-consciousness. A young working-class couple in Chicago who had a few left over wedding invitations casually looked up the telephone directory, picked up a few prominent postal addresses and sent them off. One fine morning came letters of formal regrets from the celebrities with a solid silver coffee urn, a silver bowl, and a silver creamer. There is another incident which equally emphasises this spirit. A playful young man wanting to play a joke on his young sister of 14, sent her an invitation as from the White House, to attend the New

Year's dance. The little girl shyly presented herself, and nearly collapsed on discovering the mistake. But the President and his Lady hearing of her plight, took the tearful youngster into their drawing room, presented her with a special Christmas gift and let her enjoy the White House Christmas Tree Festivities.

Money is the only hall mark, a sort of a substitute for hereditary eminence, and ability to work the only recognition. Independence which in reality means grit to stand on one's own is encouraged from early life. School boys take on odd jobs. Almost 50% of the students earn their way through their scholastic life. There is no inferiority attached to labour, everybody is just expected to work. Even the rich boy earns his pocket money, buys a camera, a radio, a bicycle with his own earnings. That is just their way and every boy and girl go that way. Students who scrub the floors, wash the windows or wait at tables on their school and college mates, don't feel self-conscious or inferior to those more fortunate ones who pay for their services, nor do the richer ones boss because of their accidental luck. So long as a man and woman can work, he or she won't stand any bossing from anybody. Idleness and parasitism, which the rich aristocrat claims as his right, calls down only contempt. Work constitutes the first claim on respect, and men who have made good are proud of their industry. So Benjamin Franklin began his will : " I Benjamin Franklin, printer " proud of his worker personality, stamping his legacy with that mark.

Society is not centralised as for instance in England, though society circles in cities like New York may be more in the public eye through the greater publicity a large city provides. But the smaller inland places feel in no way

overpowered nor stand in awe of the city bred. Society in America is much more diffused. Social distinction is within the grasp of any one who succeeds in getting there, and the opportunities for climbing are available at all economic levels, since social recognition is won by success and talent, not birth. "Society" is not a reserved show place. It is a pleasure garden to which any one may get access if he earns the means to buy the ticket.

If there is anything the Americans love more passionately than ice-cream (of which they are supposed to have 85 varieties) it is listening to lectures. America is the Mecca of all lecturers. Almost every third person one meets lectures and writes books, for the two seem to go hand in hand. In fact, speaking and writing, the two rather rare and hallowed performances of the Old World, seem a fairly common trait in the New. It gives one the impression of everybody talking all round on everything under the sun from the habits of the Hottentots to World Federation. The numerous organisations offer infinite platforms. You will be tolerated if you do not smoke and forgiven if you do not care for motion pictures. But you certainly get wiped off the map if you cannot speak. Listening to lectures is evidently deemed the quickest way to learn simple facts about complicated things. If you are interested in India or Astronomy, you listen to a 30 minute lecture and a 20 minute discussion which usually follows it and you are ready to presume you know all about it. The most facile is book-reviewing by speakers. In an hour the speaker covers three or four fat volumes and thereafter you make yourself believe you have really read them all.

America is also the firmament in which even the averagest person could be made to shine resplendently, thanks

to the glaring spotlight of publicity which is for ever turned on full. No secret service agent perhaps watches a suspect more assiduously than the publicity men watch celebrities.

2.

The physical and psychological nature of the conquest of this new continent moulded the people's sentiments and ideologies. A vast virginal continent lay before them to be cleared and opened up. As far as the eye could rove and the feet could carry, there lay rich inviting land upon land. A stout heart and stouter limbs and lo! You came to be the lord of all you surveyed. There was little of government and less of laws in the early days. Each man ruled and survived with his gun. Private enterprise and noninterference by administrative authority—these became the American's ruling principles. He developed a peculiar sensitiveness about them. This God's own country, this good old U. S. A. was built on them They became the cardinal tenets of what constitutes Americanism to the average American. Each man for himself, with a boundless right to push his way up. This bred intense individualism. Every imagination was fired. Everyone became a prospective millionaire. All that was required was to push up to the top, the goal awaited you there. Each boy was a potential President. (In America, the President nearly always means the President of the U. S. A.) Every workman was a potential head of the Corporation which employed him. This drove a serious wedge into the natural class solidarity, with a terrific emphasis on individual merit, the right of every individual vigorously to elbow his way through the crowd, pushing aside any obstacle, trampling over his less

fortunate fellowmen, and striking them down if need be. One could not be bothered with sensitive sentiments. One had to simply get ahead. To linger was to lose time and time meant money which in turn was interchangeable with power. Sanctity of private enterprise meant sanctity of private property, sanctity of success. Some attribute it partly to America's protestant background. Where competition takes on the role of the ruling principle all positions necessarily become open to everybody. Life becomes merely a race for the coveted post. This emphasis on individualism has led to a multiplicity of organisations on an unheard of scale. People striving towards the same objective, instead of being grouped into a single unit, are split into innumerable little bodies separated often by differences without much distinction. This tendency is encouraged by the ease with which any and every organisation succeeds in drawing members into its fold. Every man and woman and if possible child, belongs to one or more groups. Organisations grow up around every single idea no matter how freakish, like for instance the International Association for the Protection of the Rights of the Left Handed, of which Henry Wallace is President.

Commercialisation which in the old world is an epithet of disparagement, kind of wiping off the bloom, is the natural thing in America. Everything is commercialised from the radio to sports, without its losing its popular value or dignity, for all labour is dignified and labour must be compensated ; and since the measuring rod is money, the compensation has to be in terms of dollars. The dollar is the currency in more ways than one. Practically all radio programmes are sponsored by commercial concerns. It was the most natural thing to find Mrs. Roosevelt sponsoring the Sweetheart soap. It is unthinkable for us to picture the

Queen in England or the Vicerine in India advertising Cadbury's Chocolates or Daimler cars on the air. Mrs. Roosevelt was paid fabulous sums for this advertising. That is quite American and universally accepted.

Sport is one of America's biggest industries involving heavy investments paying dividends not only in victory but also in dollar bills. In the variety of games played, watched and paid for, America tops all the other countries. Baseball, a cousin to the English cricket, is the national sport, although it has none of the tradition and political significance that its English counterpart has. The National and the American are the two leagues which are outstanding in professional baseball. Each comprise eight teams who compete for a pennant, the winners of each contest then meeting in what is called in the typical American manner the "world series" the one winning four games becoming the champion for the year. This sports "world" really consists of only a few States bounded by Chicago, Boston and Washington, the "world" beyond these favoured frontiers being left to junior leagues. Each team has an owner, either an individual or the representative of a syndicate. Rich men own playing teams as they own racing stables or yatchs. The players have a pretty hard life and like all workers have to be on the line. There is as much exploitation in this as in any factory. The rival to baseball is football with one material difference, it is not the football *players* who earn renown generally but rather the *coaches*. Sportsmen are as great national heroes as the elite of the ring or the stars of Hollywood, and men like Timothy, Mara, rule the professions as the Morgans rule the banks or Rockfellers rule oil. Sport terms have their own typical American connotation such as "getting to or not getting to first base" in business, career or politics, so like the

English "playing cricket".

Even amateur sport is a big business venture. Several universities subsidise players but probably the percentage of players who keep up after their college days are finished, is smaller than in England. Though racing is popular, it is not a national institution and nothing corresponding to Derby.

The land of the pilgrims is still predominantly Protestant with about one-third Catholics. Curiously enough in this highly industrialised State, the organised church is a big force, and not always a conservative force as in other countries. Some of the churches have been in the forefront of progressive movements, particularly demonstrated by their association with such as the share-croppers struggle in the south. As some one has said the American religion goes the way of Martha, not Mary. There is less emphasis on the emotions or mysticism and more on its institutions of education and welfare. A few church groups are quite radical and are even accused of a red tinge.

When Young America began to build with a stout heart and a strong arm, there lay before it an expanding economy and a vast continent of enormous wealth. Prosperity seemed stretched out like an unbounded horizon. Capitalism had not lost its vigour. As the blue chips (securities) piled up one upon another and the sky-scrapers pushed their noses into the skies, America certainly became God's own country. The children of the Pilgrims grew a new faith : Capitalism, free enterprise and competition. That sun of glory has since been eclipsed by depressions, but their faith in the system has not. It has now come to mean the very bedrock of their national structure. To them to doubt it would be to doubt the very foundations of life. It would be like a Christian challenging the revelations. It is more than a spoken or

written word, it is an actual experience in their consciousness. Capitalism and America are intertwined. Faith dies hard and even in the face of the colossal disasters America has been facing, the Doubting Thomases have been comparatively few. No religious fanatics ever clung to their faith more tenaciously than do Americans to Americanism.

Americans do not look kindly upon those who seek to deviate from the trodden path. They do not brook any criticism of their way of life. Even in the academic circles such criticisms are rare and strongly discouraged when they do arise. Beginning with the assault on Darwin's theory, it has now declared war on any disparagement of the present social system. Radicalism of the type that would hardly draw attention in many European countries, is distinctly frowned upon in America. That this old ideology could be maintained without serious dents, in the face of rising catastrophes, is partly because American society is so predominantly middleclass and its continued existence rests on the foundations of this concept.

The working class and the youths are only now becoming slowly socially conscious. Educational institutions, particularly the Universities, are conservative. Teachers and professors who dare to differ are severely dealt with. Quite a number of teachers have been pitched into for propagating "un-American" ideas. An internationally famous case is that of Bertrand Russell which arose out of his appointment to the New York City College and its subsequent cancellation, a case which Prof. John Dewey likened to the trial of Socrates. It brought this issue widely to the fore. There are many such instances of teachers and lecturers being dropped for their views or their association with movements which are condemned as un-American.

Some challenging voices have been heard above the din and angry roars. President James Conant at the Harvard Tercentenary re-asserted the cherished right of scholars to absolutely unmolested inquiry. "The origin of the constitution for example, the functioning of the three branches of the Federal Government, the forces of modern capitalism," he said, "must be dissected as fearlessly as the geologist examines the origin of rock." Similarly Prof. Edwin Couplin of Princeton in his presidential address to the Association for the Advancement of Science declared: "Free thought, free speech, and free criticism are the life of science." But the forces of conservatism in the shape of trustees, prospective donors, past givers of endowments, view such outbursts with greater apprehension and suspicion. The teachers' oath-laws commonly affected university instructors as well as other teachers; legislative investigations into the teaching faculty also has had an intimidating effect. According to an American survey—report between the two world wars—"more college professors have been dismissed or disciplined because of their views than in any other similar period of our history."

Certain irrational attitudes of theirs are incredible and can only be called childish. For instance, the opposition to the expounding of the Darwinian theory of evolution, and the action of three States in actually outlawing such teaching in State-supported institutions. This absurdity reached its climax when a young school teacher in Tennessee High School was found guilty.

The agitation for 100% "Americanism" has extended to text books, which means that young seeking minds must never be touched by the breath of doubt and if they are bewildered by the contradictions in society, by the waste and misery, if they are not altogether impressed by the glory

that is America, they must shake off these questions as they would irritating flies.

In recent years this witch-hunt has been on the increase under the ardour of War Fever. Typical of this is Martin Dies and his Congressional Committee to investigate into un-American activities, a real arch fifth columnist who has red-listed, badgered and bullied every progressive body and individual. He and his fellow travellers have marked every liberal progressive-minded person from Eleanor Roosevelt to the Y. W. C. A., with the red brush. Here we see American Red phobia run amuck. He surpassed himself when he commented on the Atlantic Charter as follows :—

> "If democratic government assumes the responsibility for abolishing all poverty and unemployment, it is simply preparing the way for dictatorship. The men and women who fled from the oppressive tyranny of Europe to the wilderness of America were not seeking economic security."

Dies' last stunt and which probably was his political funeral was when he threatened legislative action "to divorce the government from the C. I. O.," and called on Mr. Biddle, the Attorney-General to determine whether officials had not violated the Hatch Act ; for according to his interpretation of this measure, any Government employee communicating with the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. "engaged himself *ipso facto* in unlawful political activity and should forthwith forfeit his job.' Needless to say Mr. Biddle very properly declined to undertake the task Dies assigned to him. Yet Dies and his illustrious committee were voted money time and again by the Congress, to unearth more red-plots and expose subversive activities, in which were included the doings of some of the most

prominent U. S. Government officials who, according to them, are its very fountain head! No wonder no less a person than the Vice-President of the U. S. was forced into an angry retort: "The effect on our morals would be less damaging if Mr. Dies were on the Hitler pay roll!"

And although Martin Dies has been choked off the political field by organisations like the PPAC, a fresh Congressional Committee for the same purpose has once again been set up. Its past undemocratic record of refusing to permit witnesses to be represented by counsel or to make statements on their behalf or to know in advance with what they are charged, or to examine the record of the hearings at which they were present, has now led to the introduction of the Anti-Smear Bill, prohibiting such outrageous denials of civil rights.

What Americans have yet failed to grasp obviously is that genuine Americanism is violated not by unorthodox thinking but (as proved by historical record) by monopolies and trusts, by big business blocks, thereby forcing State intervention at the time of a complete debacle. Nowhere in the world has the virgin free market been destroyed by socialists and radicals but on the contrary by oil, steel, rubber, chemicals and a hundred other cast-iron corporations. Yet America wants to keep flying in the face of history.

Standardisation and uniform levelling of human beings is not conducive to democracy. Democracy can be built only with human minds that are alert, sensitive to the atmosphere and which are capable of thinking and acting for themselves. The uniformity which American propaganda machinery has aimed at, has worked towards deadening some of those very elements so essential for the

successful functioning of democratic life, newspapers, radios, newsreels, books, all saying the same thing, that is, what those who control these agencies would like said. To-day in every country they represent big business interests, but much more so in America, where vast combinations make them staggeringly powerful and people are easily caught in their powerful currents. Few have the desire to turn against them and brave the turbulent eddies. The one ambition, to get rich and reach the top, absorbs all attention and their impatience with time, makes them willing victims of the propaganda that is instilled into them all the time. A nation so hurriedly formed of so many diverse elements, needs far more delicate handling to preserve some of its sensitive and distinctive characteristics. Producing a common mental make-up out of a single mould, inevitably means the very uniformity becoming the weakness of those people. All that is necessary is to keep banging on the same keys day after day to make them accept and act in a particular way. This tendency towards "uniforming" the mental make-up is further accentuated by the material make-up. Modern salesmanship make food, clothes, homes, cars, personal articles all alike and individual personality has a hard time trying to maintain itself. The machine is at work all the time to whip up and draw the nation in a specific direction. Thus throughout the entire country the same short-lived fads flourish at any given period, the same catch-phrases, prejudices, jokes, tunes, songs, hobbies, fashions. In a smaller community, the individual has greater chance to develop on his or her own. Here the mass overpowers. Therefore people of independent thought and discernment are few. Nor are such tendencies encouraged, being invariably regarded with grave suspicion. "In Rome do as the Romans do" was never truer jargon. Only in

America it is "keeping with the Jones's." It is thus a land of strange contrasts not merely in its physical features, but even in its emotional make-up. For while there is intense individualism in personal ambition making for unbounded economic competition, there is a dead uniformity in the mode of thought and living. Unless this process is arrested America will cease to be what Matthew Arnold described as "the natural and rational."

America the uniform is also the hotbed of freaks, cults and superstitions. Astrology is one of the most remunerative professions to pursue and "fortune-tellers" make a roaring trade. Evidently it is not only Hitler who is said to set his week-end campaigns on the highways of Europe by the position of stars. It is not uncommon to hear of presidential campaigns in America being guided by stars. The American press gave considerable publicity to the fact that Wendell Wilkie's appearance on the Presidential campaigning stage was guided by astrological advices! From Christian Science and the Oxford Movement to the "Great I am" and Jehovah Witnesses; from Father Divine, (a negro supposed to be an incarnation) to Amy MacPherson, (an actress par excellence whose histrionics is displayed as church service) ; from the Hindu "Yogis" to Revivalists, from Father Coughlin to Mary Baker Eddy ; from Klu Klux Klan to the Friends of the Duke of Windsor, whole communities sometimes spring up around various personalities or around faiths and cults. One of the most important of these and socially important is the Mormon, whom Bernard Shaw termed a community of natural puritans, who adopted polygamy to increase population, for a big country called for sturdy pioneering men of discipline, to be conquered and subdued.

The traditions of individualism, dissent and evangelism

had led to the formation of numerous curious sects, Mormons, being one of them. The original founder Joseph Smith declared that while praying for salvation in the woods, two shining personages had asked him to await the full restoration of the Gospel, and he had been enabled with the instruments supplied by an Angel, to translate the sacred history of the ancient people of North America. This became the Book of Mormon and the church was built around it. Smith and his brother fell prey to mob fury and youthful Brigham Young, the real hero of the Mormons, assumed leadership. Expelled from the State, he led his people even as Joseph had led his flock out of Egypt, into the Valley of the Salt Lake, apparently an arid land surrounded by high mountains. This soon became a moving bee-hive of industrious farmers and craftsmen. The desert was transformed into a garden, bare stretches into fertile fields, yawning pits into proud cities, strung gracefully on white ribbons of roads. A net-work of canals ran sparkling blue and green under a smiling sky. This dimunitive colony became a territory. Polygamy continued for a while adding rapidly and fruitfully to the colony. The Mormon was one of the most successful economic and social experiments in American history.

Although the Mormons have lost their early vigour and puritanism, their men can still be marked out, by their well-built stature and occasionally some of the old abstemious habits. They are confined to the South with headquarters at Salt Lake City in Utah State, where stands the enormously rich Mormon Church which only its members may enter. One may see here the house of Brigham, the Father of the Mormon faith, and that of his eight wives through whom he founded a big family and set an example to this new community. It has now a rebel child with a

smaller church at Independence, Missouri. Each regards the other as a heretic and puts one in the mind of the Shias and the Sunnis in Islam.

Another equally interesting community is the Mennonite, popularly known as the Plain People owing to the sombre severity of their attire. They are established in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Here they follow their traditional calling of farming at which they are said to be experts. They are popular dealers for they are reputed to be honest and fair and not given to greedy profiteering. They are said to be the direct descendents of the German-Swiss. The founder of the sect was Menno Simons, (from whom their name is derived) a West Friesland priest born in the year Columbus discovered the new Continent. They are strong pacifists and will not participate in wars, nor in courts of law. But they are peaceful citizens and liked as good neighbours and fellow-workers. Only married men are allowed to wear beards. They dress very simply in very old-fashioned clothes. They are famed for their excellent cooking. They are most un-American in one particular respect : They shun the camera and look upon it as an offence !

Strangely pathetic and ludicrous seem the groups which build themselves up around personalities, bolstered up on sickly sentiment and confusing ideals. The Friends of the Duke of Windsor, the "Slaves of Sinatra", " Sighing Society of Swooners " are a few of these. Singer Frank Sinatra around whom is built the Slave group, is himself a weak-voiced common-faced man, whose every song sounds as though it were the last. But when he stands before the mike and croons in it, some begin to wriggle rapturously, others bring the roof down with frenzied applause. Some confess they feel he is embracing them, some that he is kissing them, some swoon crying it hurts all over, inside, under the heart,

others grow fierce and bite their nails. And while musical circles remain cold and shrug their shoulders, Sinatra's lily-rose fans earn him $ 1,000|- a week.

Another racket is the cult of the "United Mankind" headed by one Arthur Belt who calls himself the "Voice", and who boasts he has 7 doubles all thinking with one mind. He claims he can transport himself any-where by merely wishing it. He has a following of 25,000. The Mankind Church owns 6 hotels, 5 restaurants, 2 lumber Mills, cheese factories, a lush Beach club, 10,000 acres of land and 1000 Cattle, not to speak of a 50 million dollar bank balance. His devoted followers are also his workmen who toil for a mere board and keep.

But one thing is common to all religious and lay communities alike : an abundance of optimism and a firm belief that the most important events in religion, as in other matters, occur in America ! And if faith can move mountains, certainly the faith of the Americans in themselves and their fair destiny should move the entire planet. There is a witty saying which illustrates this optimism : "No man who had been born in Boston felt that he needed to be born again." One has but to substitute America for Boston. Even a casual visitor to this land cannot escape its infectious optimism, its exhilarating vivacity, its boundless confidence. Pandita Ramabai has said in her experiences of America that even the soil seemed charged with electricity.

No country's ways and habits have been so familiarised to the world at large as that of America through the most vivid medium so far invented by man's genius—the film. America is the undisputed king of the film industry, over 2/3 of the total world investment in film industry (about 2 billion) being in the U S. More than a third of the cinema-going audience of the world is there—80 million a

week in the 16,000 movie theatres. It might have had a larger share had not other countries tried to restrict American pictures by a rigorous system of quotas, prohibitive measures, publicity campaigns etc. Some two-thirds of the films come from Hollywood. Never since the Arabian Night's Tales were written, has any place offered so fruitful a soil for imagination, to run riot, as Hollywood. The meteoric careers of its stars—the envy and despair of the rest of the world—are dizzier than mountain railways. The star glows brightly in the firmament one moment, and is lost in the obscure dust the next, for a most mercurial element in popularity. Tastes are fleeting and favours shift from one to the other, like lightning shafts. Fortunes are made and lost in a day as in a gamble. The movie star salaries challenge the national income figures. Above all, it is in a sense the real international stage, from which the face, voice and manners of every country reach men and women in the remotest corners of the world. However great an actress Greta Garbo might have been in Sweden or however popular a singer Maurice Chevalier in France, the world would never have raved about Garbo or crooned the hits of Chevalier if there had not been a Hollywood and its international arena for stars. Hollywood, thy name is chance—a chance gained or lost, all in the day's gamble. Its influence on language, fashions, furnishing are incalculable. It is said that there was a 50% drop in underwear when Clark Gable took off his shirt in "It Happened One Night" and showed none. Someone has aptly remarked that film stars play the role royalty once played in Europe and enjoy the same social importance.

One of the direct results of Hollywood pictures is the romance and glamour thrown around gangsterism, looting and murder, and such deeds of horror and ugliness.

Just as India has become associated in the western mind with snakes and yogis, so has America with gangsters. In the foreigner's mental picture of that country, the gangsters are all over and likely to bump into you at every street corner. There is the story of an Indian—a true story by the way—newly arrived in Chicago, all agog to see the Chicago gangsters. Taking his first bus ride he suddenly put up his hands when approached by the bus conductor with his punching machine, taking him for a gunman with his machine-gun. We have only to know American history to understand the existence of this phenomenon. Until very recently, America was the land of the pioneers who not merely conquered land but also protected it with their guns stuck in their belts. Organised government was slow in coming. The men ran their own show and became a law unto themselves. That intelligent acceptance of authority and voluntary curbing of the unruly instincts which make for a harmonious political order, comes only of long experience and well-established tradition. Many of the elements which poured into the country were themselves anti-social. Added to this, the acquisition of a new land where life had to begin from scratch, unrestrained by any controlling force, all made for a loosely put-together structure. The cohesion and integration that comes of maturity and mellowness, is still in the formative. This streak of abandon becomes obvious and demonstrative at large gatherings, public celebrations, national conventions and the like. New Year's Eve in New York is one such carnival, when the lid is completely off and the primitive breaks loose. Americans who attend national conventions in India, usually regard them as tepid, since everybody sits solemn and silent, in striking contrast to the shouts, blaring trumpets, ear-shattering drums, buffoon caps and waving of banners, all of which form an indispensable equipage at

any American celebration or convention.

Seen in its proper social setting this unruly anti-social instinct is quite understandable. Very likely it would not have continued to exert itself to such an extent if there had not been such terrific contrasts between those few who had all and the many who had nothing. The ruthless competition, the heart-rending denial of opportunities to so many in this wondrous land of plenty, to feel day after day the frustration of hopes denied, to see the coveted prize before you and yet just beyond your reach—these are the factors that induce the anti-social instincts to over-power the social ones, which lead to social disasters and psychological ailments, that make perverts out of natural men and criminals out of normal beings. But to say that the Americans are less moral and more anti-social would be untrue.

The other aspect of this social evil is the wide prevalence of corruption in public life, money and terrorism ruling where public responsibility should reign. It costs America a billion dollars a year to fight crime and makes a thing like the following possible : " Andrew Joseph Gills won mayorship beating four rivals while serving a sentence in jail. He has served previous sentences. His wife campaigned for him with a picture in which he was shown stoking a furnace at the prison farm." It has enabled unscrupulous men get hold of public machinery and use it for personal gratification. Thus could men like Huey Long rule whole States with hardly any opposition, and boast that " legislatures can be bought, like sacks of potatoes."

The working of this type of gangsterism in public life has been amply described and exposed by writers like Upton Sinclair. Whether it is done under legal protection as through public machinery or by wielding the gun, makes

little difference. It can inevitably be traced to the staggering social mal-adjustments, the excessive stimulation of appetites and the thwarting of their satisfaction.

As politics and political careers have been a part of this type of racketeering, they fail to carry the high prestige they should, and naturally do not always attract the best elements. Many decent people shrink from rubbing shoulders with unsavoury crowds and messing their fingers in muddy pools. Upton Sinclair's exposure of election methods illustrates graphically the complexities of a political career, and the unscrupulousness with which it is ringed.

American politics are definitely middle class and consequently conservative. The only difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties lie in their historic origin and background and are not based on current issues. One springs from George Washington and the Revolution and the other from Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. But there is no difference in their political ideology and both are equally conservative. The Socialist section is politically not very important, except for its leader, Norman Thomas, who is a party and an institution in himself, and can well be described as a "towering" man in every sense, whose angry snorts and genial guffaws are equally thunderous. He is set up with a clock work regularity on the socialist ticket, at every presidential election. In the days when his party was more alive, he polled creditably. His critics now gibe at him that he has for so long become accustomed to defeats, he would be unhappily bewildered if, by any chance he did succeed. It is a wrong and unkind estimate, for Norman Thomas as President would not only know just exactly what to do, but do it well.

So far no other group has given promise of becoming

a third party that can challenge the two main existing ones. But it is rather misleading for an outsider to divide them into two distinctive political groups except as a formality. It is said that there are Republican and Democratic voters and not parties, which is about the nearest description one can get to, for neither of them can be called a separate clear-cut political entity for the purpose of classification in the actual national affairs. Even superficial differences are misleading. For all Democrats cannot be called progressive and pro-New Dealers while the entire Southern Block (all Democratic) and a few other Democrats thrown in with them, oppose and fight every New Deal measure. Equally false would it be to say the Republicans are anti-war with prominent exceptions like Wendell Wilkie, who sailed with Roosevelt for an all-out war-effort and openly avowed sympathies for England, and now with Senator Vandenberg all-out for U. S. participation in the world affairs. The Communists were probably the most unpopular and most persecuted of the political groups before 1941. In fact even a distant association with them spelled danger to the unwary. Russia's involvement in the war, however, wrought a sudden change in the Communist Party's politics which served to bring into the back-ground, at least for the time being, the fierce prejudice against them. For overnight from bitter anti-war they turned ardent pro-war. They dissolved their party ostentatiously and substituted in its place a respectable Political Association, whose policy was a truce with big business even to the point of refraining from asking for any "drastic curbs on monopoly capital" after the war. The move was described by them as an attempt to solve "the problem of national unity with goodwill."—So with goodwill these members of a "revolutionary" party were going to win over the men of the trusts

and monopolies! This group may thus continue to maintain itself by trimming its sails to the American currents.

Politically no radical has ever counted and is hardly likely to so long as the country remains embedded in the orthodox "Americanism." So the two major parties have the run, the old traditions determining the vote. For no matter who the presidential candidate may be or what the issue, a State or a County will always vote Democratic or Republican according to some old prejudice. The rural North and Midwest is pronouncedly Republican, while the proleteriat has had a leaning toward the Democrat. It is quite a cross-word puzzle trying to discover why any particular County or State votes a particular way. As has been already pointed out, the reasons for the politics of any area usually lie in some very determining event or significant crisis, deep enough to trace a pattern for posterity to keep on re-tracing. For instance the Republicanism of the Midwest and the Democratic sentiment of the South are the heritage of the struggle over slavery. As I. F. Stone, an American correspondent, confesses in a recent article in the "Nation": "There is a kind of geology of politics in which the investigator uncovers one buried stratum of party affiliation after another, some the relics of major political convulsions, others the result of a petty local feud or an outstanding personality's influence. The personality may range from an astute saloonkeeper's to a glamorous president's. These determining factors, many of them trivial, are quite different from the economic and social issues that concern us in Washington." It is therefore little surprising to find the extent to which racial groups and national origins play a part in the election returns in an area. This is what Brogan, an English writer, says about the election system in his book on "U. S. Government and Politics:" "The refusal

of the American voter to stray from the two party fold is the main justification for the degree to which the States regulate the internal affairs of the parties. Not only are such details of party organisation as the raising and spending of party funds regulated to a degree that a party office in Britain would find insulting if not crippling, but the choice of party candidates in a regulated convention which chooses the party candidates. But in most States it has been replaced by the "Direct Primary" in which not delegates but actual candidates are chosen. The American elector some months before the final election, is given a chance to vote in an election conducted by the State, to decide who shall be the Democratic or Republican candidates for the offices falling vacant. Under this system the voter only chooses among the would-be candidates of one party. The winners are then entered on the ballot paper under the regular party name or emblem and, in States, where the party is overwhelmingly strong, the nomination is equivalent to election. Thus as the real contents of programmes and individuals take place within the nominal bounds of the dominant party, the discontented elements try to win for their candidates the official party label. The last development of the " Direct Primary " is the "Open Primary," where all voters regardless of party affiliations, vote in the same election. This adds in the final reduction to the absurdity of the party system, since there is no pretence that the voters in the "Open Primary" are held together by any doctrinal bond. The primary election in this case reveals its true character. A good example of the blurring of party lines which the "Primary can produce was furnished by California where Mrs. Hiram Johnson was nominated by the primary electors of both the Republican and Democratic parties."

The election of the President is formally indirect, the

candidate being chosen by each party at its own convention. The voting is done by electors who in turn are chosen by the voters of each State. Each State has its own electoral college, the electors being as many as the senators and representatives of each State. The electoral college however performs its task mechanically in that it ratifies merely the decision of the electorate in favour of the presidential candidates of the parties. This election State by State instead of by an election poll, has some queer features. Mr. Landon who opposed Roosevelt in his first election, for instance, polled a whole 16,000,000 votes though he carried only two small States. The labour vote though large and powerful has no ideological alignment. It is won over by one of the two political parties according to which offers the best terms to labour. At the moment it happens to be the Democratic Party, largely due to the New Deal tradition. Only in New York State is there a Labour Party which is able to put up and at times even get elected to some office, a progressive man with a labour bias.

The most unique political institution in the U. S. is that of the President. He can be compared to nothing that has any associations for us. In fact American politics have few familiar landmarks for us being more biassed and influenced by English traditions. He is an entity in himself. He is "the President". He is supreme and yet to the Americans, just one of themselves. The very fact that he is one of them, so endears his personality to their heart. The Englishmen often get shocked hearing the President being irreverently referred to as "that guy". But what reverence the Americans are capable of is undoubtedly bestowed upon their President, for he is the symbol of the nation. There was an instance when Roosevelt at one of his press conferences gave a headline to be used by the press :

"President quotes Lincoln and draws a parallel". The "Daily Mirror" used it and faithfully sent him a cheque for a tyroad writer's daily pay of 5 dollars minus 6 cents. for social security tax! He is not a member of any legislature. He cannot even count on the whole-hearted support of his entire party in the legislature. He cannot introduce any measure himself, he may request Congress to pass a certain measure. He is also Commander-in-Chief of the Army and head of the Naval and Air Forces of the U.S.A.

The entire administrative structure is like a game of checks, one institution a check on another so that no single institution enjoys complete power. The President is a check upon the Congress and vice versa, and within the Congress, the Senate on the House of Representatives. The Supreme Court is a check on the President and the Congress. Members of the President's Cabinet are not members of the legislatures and need not be. The Congress consists of the House of Representatives and the Senate, the former with one elected member for every 3,000,000 people and the latter, two for every State. The senators hold office for six years, one-third being elected every three years. The Representatives are elected every two years. The President every four years. Thus the House, the Senate and the President are elected at different intervals and in different ways.

Each of the 48 States is a Sovereign State, and as jealous and sensitive of its sovereignty as England or Sweden, except that free from the barbed wires of frontiers and the irritations of custom houses, they form a really happy family. Legislation differs from State to State, and the Federal Government has control over only inter-State affairs such as post, transport, trade, etc. The Congress can legislate only for labour employed on inter-State work.

The American Press like the American radio is very

American. It reflects the fast tempo and the high tension of its life in its lively, colourful treatment of the day's news. Items are featured more because of their human interest and sensational value than for their social or political. Thus you find flaring head lines, thrilling stories, sensational news offered to keep up general interest, and known as yellow journalism. With the rising cost of newspaper production, newspaper running has tended to become more and more of a business enterprise, conducted more for profit than public service. With the general growth of national merchandise, especially the chain stores and the like, the advertisements have largely captured the papers, the business manager gaining greater control over the policy than the editor. During the Henry Wallace appointment storm, the 1st edition of "Nashville Tennessean" carried an editorial urging the Senate to confirm Wallace's nomination. In the later editions, the editorial was missing. The next day's editorial blared out like a trumpet : "Such a confirmation would be a national disaster." Well may we say it is a wise editor who knows his own mind but a wiser one who knows his owner's mind better !

There is no "national" paper as such, that is, no one single paper dominates. Different papers hold sway in different areas. This is due mainly to the largeness of the country and the people's diversified interests. What is meat to a man in the Middle West, would be tasteless leather to the reader in the East, whereas what would be daily bread to a New Yorker would be mere stones to the Californian. The interests of each local area are distinctly different. There are hosts of daily papers in every locality to cater to the local readers. These smaller papers are in a way far less trammelled by business interests, and report more boldly news or comments which would not find a place in the bigger papers.

But certain features make for uniformity : one is the newspaper chain and the other the syndicated articles. The two biggest chains—Hearst and Scripps Howard own between them some 36 papers. The syndicating to a large extent goes hand in hand with " features ". A newspaper value is more determined by the columns contributed by well-known columnists, who enjoy a popularity unknown in any other country. They range from chatty gossip and blatant scandal to sober intellectual analysis. These when syndicated, appear in papers all over the country. Each writes under his own name and the commentary is his own. It is this which gives such value to the column feature in a country where the press is often controlled by " interests " and reflects so little of real public opinion. At no time was this so dramatically brought out as in Roosevelt's presidential elections. In every one of them the press was hostile and judging from it, one would hardly have expected him to poll more than a few hundred thousand votes. But what the press reflected was not public opinion but the interests that dominated it.

The syndicated columns are the only oracles which often dare say things which no paper would. They determine the public value of a paper, not the editorials which under the circumstance must necessarily be colourless. So, often a reader patronises a particular paper not for what the paper has to say but for what the columnist has to tell. But it is not only the commentaries that are syndicated. Comic scrips, adventures, picture stories appear simultaneously all over the country. Then there are those who give advice, like Counsellor Dorothy Dix who tells you just how to behave, what to do, and what to wear on a particular occasion.

The periodical press is in great vogue, particularly

journals like the "Readers Digest" which ably summarises outstanding articles for the busy man : "Time" which gives the weeks' news of the world with incredible speed ; "New Yorker" a genius in cartoons, caricatures and quips and a powerful lever in public life. "Life", "Look", etc., magnificent pictorials that tell the week's events by exploiting the visual-mindedness of modern folks. These periodicals and weeklies have amazingly large sales and have come to attain international popularity.

As important as the radio commentators and newspaper columnists are the American newspaper correspondents whose contribution to journalism and public education is excelled by their devotion to great human causes and singular services and sacrifices in their furtherance. They have indeed been one of the finest international fraternities and added illustrious chapters to the history of many a country all the world over.

CHAPTER II.

THE STREAM-LINED CIVILISATION

I

Said President Wilson in his first inaugural address, "The evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With the riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature....securing to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the year through.... With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinise with candid, fearless eyes. The Great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes and those who used it had forgotten the people."

The United States is the richest and economically the most powerful unit in the world of to-day. Its potential wealth in goods and services is as great, at times even greater than that of Continental Europe. Between 1925 and 1935, its national income averaged twelve thousand million pounds as compared with 4 for the United Kingdom, 3.5 for Germany, 3.2 for Russia, and 2.3 for France, with an average income per occupied person at £250 as

against £195 in Great Britain. Even in peace time, the U.S.A. is a producing and distributing dynamo and turns out a third of the world's coal, iron, steel and electric power, 60% of its oil, and with only 7% of the world's population consumes 48% of the world's iron, 55% of copper, 75% of crude petroleum, 75% of rubber, 36% of coal, 53% of tin, 48% of coffee; 72% of silk, 60% of automobiles. In short, never less than half, sometimes even more, of the world's production is absorbed by this one single country, a fact which in a way gives the clue to its dominant position in the international affairs of to-day and its potential one in the world of to-morrow. Under war pressure, production has almost reached the peak, with an all-high annual war expenditure of 100 billion dollars and the employment of a labour force of 63 millions.

The American Government is the largest owner of light metal plants in the world, 50% of all U.S. aluminium plants, 90% magnesium plants, with a total investment of about a billion dollars. One thing of interest is that although its industries compared with Europe are more recent in development, its standard of living rose early due not so much to the prosperity of her manufactures as to her agriculture, which may still be called one of her dominant industries, for her agriculture is mostly large-scale and industrialised. And although the relative importance of her agriculture in her own economy has declined, and is not as productive or profitable as, for instance, in Australia or New Zealand, she still continues to be the leading agricultural producer with 60% of the world's cotton, maize and dairy products.

The problems of agriculture affect directly the lives of 32 millions in the U.S.A. and indirectly some 24 millions more. So very nearly half the population is in some way

dependent on farms. Many of these families are chronically under-nourished in normal times. They are readily subject to diseases. Pellagra, Malaria, and the Hook-worm and other parasites exact heavy tolls in life and energy. Suitable provision for maintaining health and treating disease among these families is lacking or inadequate in many localities.

Economically, the U.S.A. is not a unit but a collection of diversified regional economies of startling contrasts in climate and living. California is a region by itself where people have flocked for its golden metal and its golden climate, where income *per capita* is almost half again as high as the American average, while in the "Old South" it is only half! In its economic interdependence it is more like an empire area, and it is this that makes for its internal unity, and gives it the advantage over Europe, where its absence has made it a land of perpetual nightmares. The creation of the greatest free-trade area in the world, is one of America's wisest decisions in the early days. It enabled specialisation in production and services on a scale unknown before. "Here is land enough for the thousandth and thousandth generation", had prophesied Jefferson in great self-confidence. But great men sometimes make poor prophets. Jefferson also had dreamed of a great rural republic of independent farmers, each ruling his yeoman's kingdom, all making a people free from the ugly pressure of the great cities and the new serfdom of the machines, from all the horrors he had witnessed in England and Europe—in short a "Farmer's paradise, not the industrialist's preserve." But the America of to-day presents a very different picture. The farmer is not always the ruler of his smiling lands. The tragedy of her agriculture is the tragedy of America, a tragedy which has to be seen

to be believed—so spectacular and incredible are its proportions—a tragedy that has passed into the world drama with its graphic and moving immortalisation by writers like John Steinbeck. For woe to the civilization which fails to realise that its foundations lie in the soil, not in the whirring machines, in the soft brown fields and the dark green forests; that prosperity is built upon the real commodities produced by the sweat of the farmer and not on the bonds of securities which no man can feed upon. The problem of America is the problem of the World-Capitalist economy. Ruthless exploitation of natural resources by the profit-hungry, and the rapid mechanisation of agricultural production which enables a few, holding vast tracts, to supply the needs of many, have added greatly to the disastrous landslide. The farms are operating more and more as industrial units. On several of these, even the farmer's house has disappeared, the work-hands coming every day from nearby towns. Horses have yielded to tractors. Farming has become a business, producing commodities for sale. Commodities and money dominate the farm almost as completely as the rest of American life, and the products used by those living on the farm become a minor item in the total turnover. By 1929, 7/8 of the gross farm income was drawn from sales and only 1/8 from articles produced on the farm for the owner's consumption. Production and consumption both had in the main become dependent on buying and selling. Capitalism being rooted in commodity production, the entire mechanism is sensitive to the condition of the market. In 1929, the income of not more than 513 Americans had a total of $ 1,21,20,99,000 while the gross receipts (not profits, mark) of two million farmers for all the wheat and cotton was only $11,91,000,000. During depression while the incomes of the rich were reduced by 25 to 50%, that

of these farmers got simply submerged completely.

Farmers as businessmen have been pinched between the monopoly traders who dictate agricultural prices and push them down and the great manufacturing corporations that continue to maintain high prices for farm implements, building materials and fertilizers. The payments made for the latter far exceed payments received for the former. This disparity is a central pivotal factor from which many complications radiate. The pressure of the market drives the individual farmer to raise the productivity of his labour, by improving the technique, which in turn pushes him to enlarge his scale of operation. Technical change and the employment of wage-labour react upon each other, implying increased investments in the process of production. Not possessing the necessary capital for this purpose, he is driven more and more to borrow from non-farming capitalists. The result of this penetration forms an important part of the agriculturists' ruin. When we realise that the farmers' yearly receipts are too low even for current expenses, we can appreciate the enormity of the tragedy.

Farm mortgages have long been an important item in the capital investments of banks, insurance companies and individual magnates. Uncounted thousands have been driven off the land by creditors, mostly corporations, who have foreclosed and taken possession. The small farmer in his desperation goes to the bank for credit, to the irrigation company for water, to the canning and shipping companies to market his crops. In every instance he is at the mercy of a powerful combination, for all these form one single unit, operating from Wall Street. The weak must go to the wall. The number of apple growers dropped from 32 to 13 thousand and of peach growers from 40 to 18 thousand though production remained undiminished! Also while

agricultural production increased by 50%, agriculturists increased only by 10%. Two-thirds of California's fruitful valley of 30 million acres is merely vast estates owned by corporations or millionnaires : the California Lands operating 1/2 million acres ; the Million Dollar California Delta Farms Inc ; 7300 ; the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co's "foreclosed" farms of 1½ million acres ; Randolph Hearst's 300,000 acres, etc. A telling example is that of the Grant King Ranch covering an entire Texas county, larger than Rhode Island State, owned by one Captain King and his heirs from 1852, and who for almost a century closed the ranch to public highways and railways, defying State and Federal Government alike. Only in 1937 was the hundred-year old rusty barbed-wire snipped to let in a ribbon of concrete and save thousands of travellers a detour of 50 miles.

Some industrialists requiring farm products as important raw material prefer to own their own supply. Each corporation-farm is a factory that manufactures by mass production peaches or tomatoes just as machines turn out steel or textiles. Even the wages and every single item in the worker's budget is fixed. Every hand, every article is merely a tool in the vast ramifications of finance capital. "All the States from the Rookies West are only a colony of Wall Street" says the Director of the Washington Commonwealth Federations. "Our natural wealth is owned by big Eastern Corporations. For a generation, the railroads controlled the domain, now it is the water, power and timber corporations. They drain us of raw materials and deplete our wealth for ever. We are not allowed to tax it as it leaves the State. They treat us as the British treat India. Tax laws passed by the people of this State through popular initiative are declared unconstitutional by the Courts." Thus gradually the city interests have come to acquire a

more and more dominant interest in the agricultural production, finance-capital gaining at the expense of the agriculturist.

The foreclosures come from so many sources. A refinery advances cash to a sugar-beet farm, a fertilizer to a tobacco farm, a livestock or a packer's concern to a cattle raising farm, in each case the farm getting its neck deeper and deeper into the noose. As thousands of small farmers have changed from ownership to tenancy many more thousands have flowed away from farms towards cities. Between 1920-29, these constituted nearly two millions annually. This played its own sinister role in supplying an expanding industry with the required landless and property-less workers!

Among other factors that made for decline in agriculture was the increasing social division of labour as industry based on mechanical power encroached on the varied activities of the old-time farm, such as spinning and weaving, slaughtering and tanning. Even the churn turned to rust as large creameries turned out 90% of the butter and fats were replaced by fallow ; kerosine and mineral lubricating oils and vegetable dyes by coal-tar products ; cattle manure by fertilizers ; the barnyard by large chemical manufacturing plants and most notable of all, work animals by trucks and tractors.

Railroads were the first great industrial monopoly with which the farmers clashed. Their high freight rates always cut into the meagre margin left for the agriculturist. Although the farmer's agitation ultimately won regulation of railroads, the regulated rates of the latter exacted tribute from the former on the latter's highly inflated capital. Wheat farmers are exploited by the railroads and allied concerns. The rules of the Chicago Board of Trade require the storage of grain in the monopolistically controlled elevators known

as the "Wheat Pit". Three of these concerns own 85% of the total space. The railroads own a high percentage of the space in the railway terminals which is leased to the grain dealers for storage, which means that the farmers are placed at the mercy of these big combines.

It is not the Grapes of Wrath which created the "Okies", it is the lords of the fruitful valley who actually depend on these pathetic migrants that are the sorrow and shame of America. Twenty acres of hops, which employ 12 men throughout the year, need 500 at picking time, while two thousand acres of peaches served by 30 normally, look for two thousand for picking. If those sad-eyed ragged men and women of the road failed to come or even delayed by a single week, the entire crop might be lost!

When soil erosion and draught destroyed their lands the farmers lost their titles to their farms and turned tenants. But it was only for a brief spell, for there soon came creeping over the tracks, crashing through their shacks, the giant caterpillars of modern industry. The new owners, mostly big concerns found it most profitable to replace human hands by machines, especially when New Deal generously dealt out cash payments for a crop curtailment with the proviso that this be shared with the tenants. Swiftly and surely these children of the soil were torn from the bosom of ancient mother earth and were orphaned. Economists estimate these dispossessed at nearly two million. One sees them everywhere between the Dust Bowl, and California—their Mecca,—literally on the road, in their battered roadsters or camping on the banks of pools and irrigation ditches, sometimes under trees or in paper shacks. Here babies are born to mothers who are fast losing their domestic habits. Many die of starvation. They are migrants, so they are the disinherited of the earth. They can lay no claim to

any State relief, not even to medical, in any country hospital, except in dire emergency. Here is what a report on these migrants says : " If a migrant has appendicitis, for instance, the county will wait until the appendix bursts and his life is in actual danger. One diabetic migrant went to the county hospital for insulin. But as the rules forbade giving preventive help to migrants, he stood outside until he went into a coma. Then they give it."

They come hungry, they live hungry, they die hungry, all in the midst of incomparable wealth where the earth wears her gayest and richest, and the warm sun flirts with her, touching her shyly with his myriad gold tipped rays ; where trees stoop under the weight of luscious fruits such as the world has rarely seen. They die looking hungrily at all this rich abundance they may not claim, gaze in despair at millions of empty acres kept idle, while their hearts and their limbs ache to own a little patch which they may water with their sweat, on whose rich grey bed, they may once more shelter their weary heads and on whose tall stalks and ripe grain they may quench their biting hunger. But that is not how capitalistic society is cast. So they continue to be "Okies" which millions flock to gape at on the screen but few remember are being " burned out, eaten out." Never was contrast so staggering. The rich beautiful valley lit by a million fruits like Chinese lanterns, and starvation stalking through its fairy avenues ! In Blossom County in California studded with 11 million trees producing one-third of the world's prunes and apricots, children die of hunger.

The South has nearly two-thirds of the country's eroded soil and least producing farms of lowest income. Although serfdom was abolished long ago, some of its features remain to which are now added some of the capitalist horrors. Slave

labour ruined the soil. As the planters did not dare to permit the majority of their slaves to become skilled, they had to let them destroy the land.

In general, the arrangement between tenant and landlord is for the former to be "croppers", own nothing, pay half the cost of processing and receive half the crop for themselves. As share-tenants their status is higher. They own the implements and mules, and pay only a quarter of their crop as rent. Lastly, there are the wage-hands. The cropper is the most universal, and the problem of the South is the problem of share-cropping. All the cropper collects after a season's hard work is a load of debt which he carries all through the years in his thatched, miserable hut. For the landlord takes payment in kind and squeezes from the tenant not only his surplus produce, but part of what is needed for his very existence. The Negroes, never having become free in the real economic sense, have not been able to climb out of their ancient ditches, and lack of skilled training prevents a shift-over to skilled labour; and the Jim Crow System, excluding the Negro from other occupations, ties him perpetually to the Croppers' wheel. Share-tenancy, however, breaks down when an absentee landlord takes over, for he wants definite return and no responsibility for selling farm produce. If production had been to meet the needs of the people, instead of for profits as it is today, every labour-saving device would have been of benefit. It would have meant more production with less oppressive toil, shorter hours of work with lower costs.

Everybody knows of the inevitable cycles under capitalist economy. But in recent years the depressions have shown a tendency to become chronic. So capitalism having had to find a way out, has found it in destruction or unproductivity. Millions of dollars, around 20$ an acre,

were paid to farmers to plough in the land. In the first year, nearly 14 million acres were ploughed in, for which the owners received $ 180 millions. The same is true of tobacco and other products, hundreds of millions being paid to cut wheat production. At one stage when the crop failed, the U.S.A., the second largest exporter of wheat, had to actually import that cereal. When faced with some "surplus" pigs, it was decided to solve the problem by killing those under 80 lbs. in weight and converting them into inedible grease and fertiliser. But such short cuts merely intensified the vicious circle, for some of these funds came from a tax levied on cotton manufactures. This raised the price of the finished article, so the sales fell, which meant less consumption of raw cotton. 91% of mortgages shifted into the hands of big bankers and industrial corporations. Forced sales and bankruptcy account for 24% of all farms, converting owners into tenants at a staggering pace, sometimes thousands or tens of thousands a day covering millions of acres. 30 millions shifted between country and city in a fruitless effort to solve their sinking economy. Those who held on to the land, found their mortgage value more than that of the farm itself. So the mortgages rose by leaps and bounds, and by 1930 covered 67% of owner-operated farms. These eliminated most of the binders from wheat belt and doomed the migratory workers to perpetual unemployment and bread lines. Mechanical process inevitably trips over the contradictions of capitalism for it allows of no means of operating on a rational basis by small farmers. Every town has its "jungle" where dispossessed farmers and jobless workers live, usually out on the city dump, or in old cars, in rotting packing cases and the like, often within sight of the storage plants holding surplus food grain.

The sharpening of the agricultural crisis hastened the ruin of the small and middle farms which formed the majority, and continued to feed up the large capitalist farms. While farm prices fell 60%, they were paying taxes which had risen 266%, and freight rates 153%, with the result that when the farmer got his crops to market, he discovered that their value had dropped faster and farther than consumer goods which he needed to buy. Consequently his mortgage load increased from week to week, year to year. The local banker held a crop lien on the wheat. The agricultural company had a note and second mortgage for the tractor and combine supplied. An insurance company had a first mortgage on the farm real estate, the elevator man making the fifth. All are but the arms of the same octopus and operate in unison, and like pals, go shares. When each deducted his own dues, there was nothing left for the farmer to draw except a blank which meant his inevitable change-over from owner to tenant.

One of the interesting results of the ruin of small family units is the emergence of "Chain farming". In several States, big insurance companies organise subsidiary operating companies to work foreclosed lands they have acquired. These are run as a unit with few hired men, the farm house converted into a barrack for this crew who live there only during the harvesting season, and farms are consolidated into a couple of corporations to reduce overhead charges. War, however, brought a wave of prosperity to agriculture as to most things.

The net income of farmers has shot up 16% above pre-war and the index of prices received by farmers in 1944 averaged a rise of 81% over the pre-war. Their present bank deposits are double the pre-war size and a rise in their Savings Bonds from practically nothing to 2.4 milliard

dollars. Side by side their mortgage indebtedness has decreased by 952 million dollars. The percentage of land purchases by farmers as against speculators, is also on the increase. The gross farm income has increased from 4.8 milliard dollars at the beginning of the war to 12.4 milliard in 1944. This has meant that the farm operating expenses are being met from income without having resort to borrowing.

Agricultural depression with all its attendant repercussions on general U. S. economy, is nevertheless almost certain when the war closes if the present economy is to continue, for there is going to be a "surplus" of food even in spite of Europe's demands for food. The future of cotton and wheat is not so bright. Keeping them going on subsidies indefinitely is not a sound economy and it is a moot question how far make-shifts like reduction in the acreage or the withdrawal of men from this profession, are going to help effectively under the present economy. It is going to be all the more complicated as the increase of 1/3 in the physical volume of production has been achieved without any increase of acreage or man power but through technological improvement. The following paragraph in Time Magazine of August 21, however strikes the tragic note of the music to come : "For the overwhelming majority of U.S. farmers, the outlook was fabulously bright. The Agricultural Department reported a mounting damage by drought to crops in the East Central State....In Montana last week a roaring wind and hail storm streaked for 100 miles through the South Eastern countries, ripped barns to kindling, and flattened fields of wheat just as the farmers were ready to thresh. Estimated loss : 2½ million bushels of wheat." Comment on this "Streamlined" economy, is needless.

And to know how the Administration still handles

the problem of food and price control, we have only to look at the policy of the War Food Administration. For instance it bought 62 million cases of eggs at an average price of 30 cents a dozen to support farm prices, which cost the tax payer $48,600. And when the eggs became overripe and began to turn rotten, the Administration began to bury them. The buried eggs, however, began to give out such a stench, that Municipal authorities took out an injunction to prevent their burial. What to do with rotten eggs threatened to become a national scandal.

But the greatest evil of all is the hemorrage of the soil. Profits and more profits drove the men on the land to turn out crops season after season, year after year, giving the land no breathing time, until the rich virgin soil sank back in utter exhaustion, unable to yield any more. Langdon Davies says : "If the top 30 feet of American dry land were cut away, the whole continent may as well be at the bottom of the Pacific. And the top 30 feet is being ruthlessly carved away, thanks to the intense greed and stupidity of human beings under individualism. Instead of taking nature into partnership, they are destroying her by trying to force the very flesh and living tissues from her bare bones, tearing the soil away to the sterile rock beneath. It is said that if the soil of one State were well preserved, it could produce enough to feed all the other States. Nations in the long run survive if their citizens join together to co-operate with nature instead of competing with one another and in the process exploiting nature. In the last resort communities depend for their survival on making their peace not with human enemies but with nature itself. History belongs to the pastoral and agricultural peoples, who have made their peace with nature, who have learned to co-operate instead of to destroy, to in-

crease the riches of the earth instead of to impoverish them."

Equally colossal has been the devastation of natural resources. Michigan which was once the leading lumber producing State, now imports lumber. This destruction has spread from State to State, the mowers moving on the virgin forests only to wipe them out. It is said that at the present rate the soft wood forests cannot last more than three or four more decades and scarcity of wood is only a small part of the disaster. Disappearance of forests also means erosion of the soil and flooding which results in the ruin of extensive areas.

This same process has been operating in the animal world as well. Dr. W. T. Hornaday, while lamenting the loss, exposes that it has swept away fully 95% of the birds and mammals of America that were most useful to man." Fish is being equally depleted. The salmon that once teemed in 26 Atlantic rivers are now reduced to a small number in one river, and the same is true of the pacific.

2

In the industrial field, U.S.'s achievements are stupendous. Industrial productivity per head before the war was £430 per head as compared with less than £200 in England or Western Europe. Generally speaking the reason for the superior efficiency of American industry is due no doubt to material as well as psychological causes, both reacting on each other. Greater enterprise, daring and energy have resulted in large-scale investments and industrial structures which have in turn meant larger production. Side by side has leaped ahead technical production made possible by the readiness of businessmen and labour alike to scrap old

methods and machines and adopt new ones with enthusiasm. Free from the trammels of rigid traditions, American technique has been able to be fluid. In no other country is so much spent on research for finding new products and new processes. Some of the chief factors which have governed the swift growth of industrial prosperity in the country may be briefly stated.

This swift transformation of American economy was entirely natural, though it was assisted by the governmental policies. The bases of this development were mainly raw materials vaster, and more varied than vouchafed to any other people except possibly the Russians ; inventions and techniques for converting the raw materials into manufactured products ; transportation system of water and rail fully adequate to the demands of an expanding economy ; a domestic market rapidly expanding with the increase in population and the growth of foreign markets, especially for agricultural products ; a labour supply constantly renewed through immigration ; the absence of vexatious tariff barriers between State or sections, protection against foreign competition, and the maintenance of direct and indirect governmental subsidies. To these fundamental factors should perhaps be added the spirit of enterprise and the atmosphere of optimism which distinguished the nation from its beginning. America patented 676,000 ingenious inventions, which is probably more than any other people have done in the correspondingly short period, between 1860 and 1900.

Extensive use of power is a pertinent factor in the vast production, for over half of the world's total energy is consumed in the U.S.A. and is still in the ascendency, being four times that of England per capita. This is possible because of large-scale production. Machinery and high

power is not economical when used for small productive plants. So the two react on each other. The availability of a large open market for goods put out on a mass scale is also a very important contributing factor, and this is possible because of the free flow of trade across the wide country without State tariffs and restrictions. Mass production has brought several of the luxury articles of the old days within reach of the common man, such as the motor car, radio, frigidaire, electric stove, telephone, etc. By far the largest increase has been in motor cars, with an average of one car to every four citizens in the country.

Large-scale production has also resulted in certain economies such as utilisation of bye-products, the growth of efficient subsidiary industries and a combined research section. It also helps specialisation, as each process or section can be operated by a separate plant or management, each autonomous with no interference in the specialised functions of another. An advancing technique has been practicable because of the enormous scale of research carried on by a regular army of nearly 50 thousand with an annual budget covering over 500 millions. The developments in the last quarter century have been stupendous. Where once 70 man-hours produced a ton of steel only 11 man-hours do it now ; and 92 man-hours can complete a car where it once needed 313. The number of electric units secured from a pound of coal is increased 115%, the tractive effort from a gallon of petrol by 200%, light from an electric unit by 55% ; such examples could be multiplied by the hundreds. America's steel capacity is almost as great as of all the rest of the world and it may well be called the King of American Industries.

Standardisation also helps mass production at lower costs. The saving on automobiles alone by this is said to

be 750 million dollars. The capacity to daringly, almost recklessly, scrap types of commodities, has made such achievement possible.

Consolidations, mergers, to wear down and overcome large-scale competition, to eliminate the small-scale business, and control prices and markets, has been another important factor in feeding the process of large-scale production. The interwoven cables of banks, combinations like Morgans, have held credit up like a suspension bridge.

Last but not least is the efficiency of the business management. It is taken as seriously as any academic or scientific profession and in the Universities it is given an equal status with the other subjects, and which thousands of would-be businessmen earnestly master. Even the ordinary salesmen and women take care to go through the necessary schooling for it.

Specialisation is another outstanding feature. The buyer only buys. He is not worried with problems of selling. He uses his expert knowledge of goods and market only to buy at the lowest rates and still obtain high quality. Then there are the copy-writers who look at the merchandise and describe it so vividly, that it fairly leaps at you right out of the pages of the catalogue or the wall poster or the newspaper advertisement. They are masters of descriptive English. Then the artists illustrate and picturise the merchandise in the most attractive way (America believes in aggressive selling tactics) to augment the copy-writer's description. Then come the display artists both for the counters and the windows, to show the article off to the best advantage. Lastly there are the marketing experts who can tell right down to the last square yard of roofing and keg of nails, just how much of a given merchandise will be consumed in a particular country ; statistical experts, psy-

chologists, to tell what is losing in popularity and what is gaining in volume. The salesmen are considered of special importance, and are specially trained in human psychology as to how to overcome the customer's resistance to the tempting goods.

Advertising is the most dramatised art. It has more drama than the conventional drama. Car manufacturers or dealers, hold raffles in their show-rooms to introduce new models to the public.

One of the many factors favourable to America was that it suffered relatively less, certainly no physical devastation from World War I, for the war was never fought on its soil, and terminated successfully very soon after America entered. Young, virile, it rose more rapidly while Europe was still struggling to recover from the terrible havoc wrought, and tussling with the ever mounting problem of turning over from an obsolete pre-war system to a completely transformed post-war one. Less conventional, more daring, America adjusted with less shock. It was soon acquiring an invincible empire through finance and production.

America also came to concentrate on those products which seemed to be gaining increasing importance, chemicals being one of the chief amongst them. Chemistry has come to play a decisive role because of the increasing dependency of modern industry on chemicals, such as potash and nitrates, particularly enhanced in war time. Equally important is their role in synthetic materials needed as substitutes for natural products, laboratories not only competing with but even aspiring to excel nature. Radio and wireless come as equally important. The Radio Corporation of America is one of the most gigantic concerns of the world.

Even more astounding is the development of the aviation industry. The American planes circle the globe, its endless lines binding the various hemispheres into a sheaf in its grasp. America has the largest reserve of Helium, the non-combustible gas, without which general airship operations are unsafe. The Pacific, the Gateway to the East, with its favourable meteorological conditions, offers a vast area for an easy set-up of commercial air lines.

Most important of all, in fact holding the key to much of this grandeur, is oil. Some one has truly said that the romance of America is the romance of oil. When production changed over from coal to oil and electricity, it served to put America on the commercial throne. Lord Curzon said that the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil. That may be only half the truth. One could almost say, America floated to power on the currents of oil. Henri Bierenger, the noted Frenchman, warned his Government when the victorious powers were scrambling for oil at Versailles : "He who owns the oil, owns the world, for he will rule the sea by means of the heavy oils, the air by ultra-refined oils, and the land by the illuminator oils, the wonderful substance more sought after than gold." Three centuries ago the Amerindian (the ancient children of the American soil) had led Father Joseph D'Albiou, a Franciscan missionary, to a pool of blackwater. On it Rockfeller built his fabulous fortune. The bright idea which flashed through the Rockfeller brain of dominating the industry by pipeline control, laid the pipeline to American world control. The lines of control to-day are long and many and form a stupendous intricate network. Most of them run invisible under the ground, lines through which flow dollars and diplomacy, goods and services, to all parts of the world.

The vastest and mightiest line is of finance-capital. It

runs faster than the grimy oil. North and South, East and West, into the Orient and the Occident has gone forth the mighty dollar, to expand the invisible empire. Close on its heels comes trade. By 1930, while British trade had fallen 5%, American trade had shot up 45%, its gigantic production matched by its unrivalled high-pressure salesmanship, and its superb advertising. Everything was in superlatives, including profits and controlling power. American pipe lines reach out into the key industries in every country. A legal provision authorised the Federal Government the sending of treasury agents abroad to obtain foreign production costs, and the law permits the State Department to obtain diplomatic recognition and immunity for these agents.

One of the most unique organisations is the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, which has opened up markets for American goods, created taste for American things by direct or indirect advertising. Within ten years of its inception it had acquired control of cables, telegraphs, radios, telephones, and various electrical manufacturing concerns in practically every key city in 30 countries. The R. C. A. through its gigantic combination with the biggest corporations, like the fabulous Telephone or Telegraph Corp., General Electric, Westinghouse Electric Corp., United Fruit, has succeeded in absorbing the manufacturing concerns turning out articles as varied as the phonographs, the motion pictures, theatres, cables and through its numerous subsidiaries it controls, manufacture of similar articles in practically every country in South America and Europe.

The aviation industry and transport concerns formed a great merger into four companies swallowing some nearly 1500 smaller concerns and even these four are inter-

locked with each other. It gained a footing even in the German Zepelin Concern with its great technical organisation and 30 years of experience. General Motors built up 24 overseas plants, 6000 foreign distributing centres, acquired interests in English automobile industry, like the Vauxhall and a large control in the Opel in Germany and the Citroen in France. Ford penetrated similarly in nearly every country. But the largest American investments abroad even in England are in public utilities. Latin America is financially a virtual colony of the United States. The New York City Bank, the National Chase Bank and the like are practically rulers down in those 20 Republics. The Washington Government has worked closely with these Corporations, and through loans and credits, has exercised pressure over them. American foreign investments have covered 112 countries, in the shape of plants and properties totalling about 13.3 billions.

The penetration of American capital went hand in hand with American products, partly through direct and indirect advertising, the powerful agency for this being the American films which serve to create a taste for American goods and sometimes even gives the lead in fashions. Dr. Julius Klein, when he was President Hoover's Assistant Secretary of Commerce, rhapsodied as follows, on this magnificence of America's commercial supremacy : " American cash registers are ringing their merry tune in the shops of Johannesburg and Harbin ; empty American kerosine oil tins serve as cooking utensils over peasants' fires in China ; American safety razor blades scrape the chins of blonde Swedes and Swarthy Africans ; hilarious audiences in the mining towns of Peru watch American movies ; American machinery is hewing and erecting new public works in the forests of the Amazon ; American cosmetics

are scattered in Cuban Boudoirs ; American refrigerators do service in sweltering tropics ; American aeroplanes keep winging the globe and winning the admiration of the world. Viewed from any aspect, volume, value or variety, the transformation of our export trade has been of the most spectacular economic developments of this amazing post-war decade."

To the above list may be added endless items. American architecture, its cock-tails which have conquered Paris cafes, its soda fountain now a popular feature of every country, and above all Jazz and Swing echo even in the sombre silence of the Orient, the Congo and the Samba resound on the floors of desert cities and remote island shacks.

Into the vaults of this country gold had flowed from four corners of the earth. On the eve of the great bank collapse, and the irrevocable depression that followed there was locked up in the strong boxes of the U. S. 60% of the world's gold. But all this shining metal seems to have been of little avail, for the story goes that asking for a dime brought on the Wall Street crash. Everybody had simply lived on credit. America seems to have discovered this new game in which all that was needed to be done was to keep the almighty dollars moving from coast to coast, from continent to continent, up the oceans and down the seas. The dollars invariably returned to whence they had started, with bankers, financiers, money-touts scraping a rake-off in the course of this merry-go-round. The perpetual movement made America feel good. The dollars in circulation somehow gave the illusion of prosperity. The dollar became mightier than ever. Everywhere the bright bell-boards harried you " Why work, why not make your dollars work for you instead." Now upto 1890, there had

always been the West since the westward stampede that followed the finding of a gold nugget at Sutter's mill. In every crisis, every misfortune, you set your face West. Every 'No-Good', every jilted lover, every bankrupt trader, every deserter, all went west. There was always a West, at least so it seemed, until in the inauspicious year, 1890, the roving adventurer in his westward tramp came up against a frontier! Now nobody had ever thought there would be a frontier. The country had always seemed to stretch limitlessly to the west. And now there was no more any farther west. There was only an endless stretch of water and a roar of waves. No angry father could say to the son, no harassed wife to the never-do-well husband, "Go West". All the available usable land had been taken up—the kind of situation which faced empire builders early in the 20th century when every part of the globe seemed to have become somebody's "Sphere of Influence", and not even crumbs going anywhere for the late comers to the picnic. There was no more "free" unclaimed land to pick up, no more chance for a new share in the golden West with its golden fruit. All round roved the hungry eyes, in search of new opportunities and caught the skyscrapers the symbols of speculation. The sky of finance was boundless. All one had to do was to contact a broker, who, like the man in a fairy tale, traded something with nothing. With a brief click of the telephone he seemed to set a whole Arabian Night's tale into motion. Vast transactions running into millions put across seas and lands, speculations, investments, all made over telephones and telegraphs forms. Even asking for a cent was sufficient to set off such a situation, so spongy had it become. • U.S. shrank 14 billions in 5 hours with 17 millions shares on one exchange. Like the speculative day dreamer of Aesop's fable, America

had absent-mindedly kicked the basket of Chinaware and found herself sitting amidst the broken pieces. The instalment system which was said to have brought in the millennium with a freshly painted house, piano, car, frigidaire, radio for eager couples, a chicken in every pot, 2 cars in every garage, as the proud boast went, melted into thin air with all America owing seven billion dollars on the instalment payments! Never did wealth seem so unreal as in those days. Millionaires and workers alike were still asking for the fatal dime. Everybody was waking up to the staggering realisation that what America had earned and built upon was a paper and that paper was just so much waste which in an oldfashioned kitchen might have at least helped light the fire but had not even that value in a gas and electric kitchenette. The national income fell from 78½ billion to 41 billions. The stock exchange securities slid from 87 thousand million dollars to 19 thousand million; material production fell by 32%, labour income 40% (from 15 to 6 billion) and that of farmers from 12 to 5. All construction came practically to a standstill. Industrial production dropped 40%. 17000 retail shops closed. Agricultural prices dropped by 60%. Unemployment reached the unbelievable figure of 17 million! It was as though the dazzling prosperity of yesterday was but Aladdin's fairy palace which disappeared overnight, leaving an arid empty space. People rubbed their eyes until they smarted. Their million dollar streamlined world was just not there any more. It had dipped like the setting sun beyond the horizon giving one last scarlet flash. The very colossus of the boom had laid the basis for such a spectacular crash. Nobody could say how it had come about. Some said this and some said that. Gambling on the Stock Exchange, loss of foreign markets, concentration of econo-

mic power, the European tariffs, the World-War....a thousand speculations and a thousand doubts assailed the bewildered millions while what each asked for, from the man who owned a Packard to him who trudged the byepaths, was the price of a meal. A few perhaps realised that the American earthquake was but part of the tremor rending the capitalist world from end to' end. The American's abiding faith in their system was for once very nearly shaken. The old complacency that the depression will soon pass and be replaced by the cyclic prosperity from round the corner, was rudely rent. Endlessly up the street kept coming ragged men, without jobs, without food, without hope. By March 1933 depression had reached a climax.

One of the most devastating features of a depression is unemployment. It implies a process of gradual demoralisation by the creation of a feeling of failure, the awful sense of being not wanted because you are no good. Defeat is the hardest to face for a young successful people whose ancestors had made good. Unemployment grows in a rich and efficient country that has a large and growing class that neither owns the means of production nor is allowed to produce commodities. If the jobless were allowed to produce on their own initiative, say on a co-operative basis, the whole profit system would crack. They must therefore choose between starvation and relief, with no chance of self-respect, in fact with practically no other choice. On relief, they exist only as consumers, a burden on society, making no contribution ; and they must relinquish their last claim to everything, including life insurance. Even the relief is given mostly in the form of checks to landlords and certain certified shops, making existence extremely impersonal.

Crime increased sixfold and cost the country a billion

dollars to fight it. As a gangster in a reformatory said : "What do I want to study civics for when I can get 50 or 60 dollars a night sticking people up?" As wealth increased, the inequalities of its distribution aggravated, the contrast between luxury and want sharpened. Although the gap between the millionaire and the destitute widened, the common class interests took long to consolidate. The decades of emphasis on individualism together with the rapid shooting up of American economic life had tended to diffuse public opinion. The vast cities where neighbours remained strangers to each other, the farmer and ranch owner, each a monarch of his own, had not yet learned to grope for each other's sympathy and common action. Frustrated youngsters merely took to gangsterism. More and more people were being driven on to the streets or slums. Life in dark hovels meant physical and moral deterioration. Ambition wanes as hopes shatter. Incessant and hopeless struggle undermines resistance and ultimately all sense of self-respect. Life is reduced to an aimless drift or grab where it can. The steadying links of community life snap.

As the tall insolent sky-scrapers, symbol of American prosperity, rose challenging the very skies, the shadows grew and lengthened slowly across the sunlit highways like spectral shades. The speed car of American industry racing upon the billion dollar wheels raised great clouds of pink grey dust which slowly settled on the land. The shadows gathered thick and fast. The nyon lights dimmed, the dollar thinned. Even at its peak, the American prosperity was patchy and restricted, for while a few lived in palatial mansions, a great many huddled in hovels. According to the Director of the National Housing Association of New York, the U. S. A. has some of the worst slums in the world. Large numbers of people live in a state of

semistarvation, having barely the income necessary for a decent livelihood. It costs about $2,184 a year to maintain an American family of five in health, and in normal times just about 14% of the families could lay claim to that income. One-third of them in fact averaged only $437 a year. So some six-sevenths of the population was indifferently fed, clothed and housed, and one-third definitely ill-nourished and below par. Of over 14 million draftees examined, only 2 million were found up to standard, 3½ hopelessly unfit, 1 million discharged for defects.

An alternative to this is not easily conceived of by an average American. The very realisation that anything could be very wrong with his system would be sufficient to strike him with cold horror. It might be an easier task to persuade a Roman Catholic to doubt the infallibility of the Pope than coax a Yankee to question the foolproofness of his super-streamlined world. Truly has Langdon Davies said : "America was re-born only ten years ago, that in fact everything that makes America significant to the world as a whole at the present moment is the product of ten agitated years of peaceful growth."

The war necessarily brought enormous changes in the normal economy of the country. Production speeded up on an unprecedented scale though perhaps it did not quite reach the peak. Starting from producing one plane a day, it was set to the target of 10,000 a month. The face of the proverbial West has been changed almost beyond recognition by transforming its old economy of agriculture and shipping and semi-colonial status once nick-named as the step-child of the old Eastern Board Empire, into a full-fledged industrial status of its own with steel, aluminium and magnesium plants blazing away. The West is now added as a new dynamo to the U. S. A. with possibilities of a

new Western block in the Congress. A rail line is being laid from Seattle to Alaska and thereon to Asia by tunnelling the Behring Strait. With its two-ocean navy, it will become formidable beyond conception. It is far ahead of other countries in civil aviation, and is feverishly mapping out lines and courses all over the globe leaping over impassable mountains and dangerous seas.

The U.S. has borne almost half the total cost of the war which is $ 500,000 million, and 234,500 millions more than Russia and England combined. More money has been spent in 1943 alone than in all the first 150 years of U.S. existence, (1776 to 1926) a total of 880 million dollars, of which 225 millions went for military alone. From the outbreak of war to V-E Day the money spent is around $ 276,762,000,000, a whole 104 billion more than what the U. S. A. had spent in war and peace from its birth to 1941. The American wag goes that if the dollar bills were laid end to end, they would make a highway from the earth to the Venus !

But the basic problem of America remains. Under the streamroller of the war, under the avalanche of all-out production, under the priorities and the quotas, keeps gathering the muddy silt, as in a stagnant pool. While the super-structures rise with their sharp streamlined curves, the bottom remains, unstirred. The fetish symbol of the dollar still overwhelms American economic life which is grooved to control of national affairs through finance. The present confusions, food scarcity, bottle-necks and break downs, are largely a result of this. The system of priorities by which some initial central control is attempted, has failed ; for business still travels the way of the every day market relationships, even under a grave crisis. The age-old rule of the greater the demand the cheaper the production, is now being reversed

and the enormous expansion is merely pushing up production costs and prices. Big business violently resists any restrictions to govern rent, interest and profit, for they are sacrosanct. The Tolan Committee on Migration of Labour hit the nail on the head when it said in its interim report: "There is no phase of our economic life which can be unessential in total war. Every phase must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. Total war requires that our vast economic system be operated along the organisational lines of a single industrial plant. Under conditions of maximum war production, everyday market relationships virtually disappear."

The problem of post-war economy will be even greater, for war only accentuates the contradictions of capitalistic economy a thousand fold, and America along with the rest of the world, will be face to face with the crisis, which had once thrown her off the gear in 1929 and finally led to the world conflagration of 1939. Here is the picture of the U.S. post-war economy as presented by the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences: "The national income will drop almost overnight to one-third or one-half its war peak....There will be corresponding unemployment still further increased by....economies in production methods....Any plan for the future that fails to accept these facts is unrealistic and futile." The spectacular mounting figures for production and expenditure far from reassuring the future, in reality, fill the skies with grave forebodings. Of the 100 billion dollars expended yearly on war, 50 billions or exactly half, represents deficits. The present prosperity is, therefore, artificial and the present economy what Paul Samuelson, Professor of Economics at the M.I.T., calls "riding a tiger." He insists that as pre-war

America was tragically under-producing, post-war America should produce 50% above that rate to assure real income to the people and prevent a vicious cumulative spiral of unemployment.

There are at the moment ten million servicemen and fifteen to twenty million war workers, with the eleven million now being demobilised. Over the reconversion, there is a battle royal raging. In the first round, the people have lost and vested interests under the guise of "Rugged individualism" have won.

Two New Deal Senators, Killgore and Murray, decided to set about how to welcome the coming conquering heroes home. They demanded that the Federal Government pay unemployment compensation of $35 a week for 104 weeks for those earning $ 48 and more with 3 dependents, together with provision for vocational training and travel allowance to get to the place of job. They placed before the Congress the cheerful alternative of eight billion dollars as unemployment charge for three years which many thought would be cheap enough, for the fear of a few thinking intelligent souls is that the U.S.A. would very likely get rid of the eight billion without getting rid of the depression. The Kilgore-Murray measure has been turned down and even the benefits of unemployment insurance refused to millions of emergency federal employees to be displaced at the end of the war, all in favour of the conventional American faith of each-man-for-himself.

It is not surprising therefore that literally thousands of workers in each state were deserting their present temporary war-jobs and streaming back to their home town permanent posts, even before the war closed. What does make one shudder, however, is the cold bloodless tone in which this grave question is discussed, and the calm ac-

ceptance of three million jobless six months after Germany's fall and ten million after Japan's fall, with the casual self-assurance that these teeming millions of unemployed scarcely mean the return of "paralysing" depression. It were as though 1933 had never been.

A capital investment of $ 40,000,000,000 and a revenue ranging from 160 to 180 billion dollars a year is said to be needed to keep everybody, roughly from 57 to 60 millions employed, for America was up to now producing more than $ 150,000,000,000 with 11 million men in the armed forces. The target has, therefore, to be "full employment." But this is largely dependent also on the policy labour will pursue. For it is doubtful whether these goals are possible with labour's stand for increased wage rates and other demands. The Labour members' War Loan Board is pressing for a raise in hourly wage rate from 50 to 72 cents. Even if the demand is not acceded to there is bound to be greater pressure from the labour world, with its increasing strength. In the meantime according to Time Magazine one of the army men is reported to have commented in bitter sarcasm : "We don't need to be oriented to the army. A lot of us are damned glad to be going overseas. What they should have prepared us for was the shock of coming home."

"Full employment in the U.S.A. is the first step on the road to permanent world-wide peace," says Henry Wallace. "Without full employment here we undermine world price levels and world trade, the results of which reach into the economic and political fabric of every other country". The Full Employment Bill comes as the first item of the economic Bill of Rights outlined by Roosevelt. 'Sixty-million-jobs' has become a national slogan. The main objectives of the Bill are to secure provision for the full time employ-

ment of all seeking work; the full utilization of the country's resources. For this purpose the Federal Government is to pursue policies that will stimulate opportunities through private or other non-federal investment and expenditure. The Bill therefore seeks to utilize the mechanism of a national economic budget that covers the in-come and out-go of the entire economy instead of merely that of the Federal Government. This is meant to show the gap between prospective expenditure and the amount required for full employment, to be filled by private or federal spending to make it good.

The National Planning Association in working this out says: "The one possibility that would have a major effect is that of a change in the distribution of the nation's income. It is a common observation that a man saves a larger proportion of his income as the income rises; conversely the people toward the lower end of the income save less or do not find it possible to. If ways could be found to adjust the lower brackets upward without increasing prices, the effect would be to increase individual's expenditure and thus relieve government or business of some of their burden in making up the total required for full employment." This means persuading industry to accept a lower rate of profit. For there is no way to "cut the apple into three halves." The total apple would indeed be larger under full employment and the total volume of profit greater, but the ratio of profit, the percentage taken from the national income by the top income groups must necessarily be smaller if those at the bottom are to have a greater share. In this, that is, greater share for those at the bottom, lies the key to full employment.

Professor Paul Samuelson's analysis of the position is revealing as well as disheartening: "There is a growing

group who are appalled by the fear of full employment.... technology is so improved that unless we mismanage we shall still have more real income than before the war and more consumption than during the war. If we do not succeed in this it will be bad economics. To let the war years remain in popular memory as a kind of Utopia would be equally bad politics and morality." ... Economically, the war did not begin with Pearl Harbour, nor will it end with the defeat of Japan." Will the U.S.A. continue to succumb to the so-called Americanism and lapse back into " chronic " crisis, or will she find the true Americanism, the heritage of the Pilgrim Fathers, and lead the world along the American way?

The sturdy pioneers, children of the hardy pilgrims, with their ears close to the vibrant pulsations of the earth, their eyes turned to the tremor of the stars, had cut the path of the great revolution and a realisation of the simple truth that all men are created equal and have an equal right to happiness, a truth which rises like the perfume from the earth. When the first cloud bursts and the fresh shower peeps in, and shoots like the star-light from the heavens when the day folds up like a tired wing. Another band of sturdy pioneers, children of the solid pilgrims have to hew a fresh path to open up their long submerged precious heritage.

CHAPTER III.

AMERICA GETS A BREAK

No epoch in American history has aroused so much interest as the New Deal era, since the American revolution. Such epochs are by no means new to American history, in fact the New Deal is one amongst a series of reforms that have swept the country from time to time since Jefferson laid America's political foundation in the Bill of Rights.

Truths are no doubt self-evident as is stated in the Bill of Rights and Governments are in fact established to realise them. But even in a country like America which pointed the way, it has not been able to live upto these truths and the real American way of life remains unfulfilled. But these ideals nevertheless have to be cherished to leaven human thought and life. At least in theory it is now accepted that no administration which has denied any of these rights to its citizens, can lay claim to the title of Government. The American Revolution was as much an internal one as external, for breaking the outward shackles meant an inner political gain. Henceforth Governors of States and the Upper Chambers became elective and popular measures free from a foreign vote. Simultaneously it democratised the political machinery by abolishing property qualifications which had restricted voting to a small class. Fortunately for America many of the "loyalists" shook off the "treacherous" colonial dust and made for more loyal shores like Canada and West Indies, and some even for the "Home" country, leaving the "Rebels" to shape the State after their own heart. Henceforth, energy, industry, self-

assertion, counted for more than dignity, leisure and finesse.

The people have ever been zealous of their rights and waged many battles to protect them against the onslaughts of vested interests and the encroachment of the Administration alike. They have fought to regulate railway and other public utility charges ; force the railways and big companies pay their share of the taxes; provide for a State income-tax, safe-guard labour ; prohibit child-labour ; ensure pure foods and drugs ; conserve natural resources ; provide for large-scale irrigation ; and a host of similar reforms. Side by side the different States have been made to carry out reforms for the democratisation of the political machinery. They have given battle to the administration to safeguard the constitution and the rights of the citizens under it. The most outstanding occasion was when the Congress attempted to eject the President in 1868 for "High crimes and misdemeanors." President Johnson was chary of the progressive measures put through the Congress to give logical effect to the result of the civil war. The Congress enacted over his veto a law forbidding him from dismissing certain office-holders without its consent. Johnson dismissed his War Secretary and faced a Senate trial and but for one vote would have lost his office !

The New Deal has come in this proud line of succession to give a re-enforced momentum to carry forward the underlying principles of this great State. But it differs from other reforms in several respects. The most emphatic is its background of what is now known as the "great depression". Although depressions have been a normal feature of the present economy, the fury of this nearly threatened the very foundation and would show no signs of abatting. The situation called for more than normal effort at adjustment. The entire economy seemed to be disinte-

grating and a deadly panic gripped the people. Amongst the potent reasons were the nation's capacity to consume failing to keep pace with the country's capacity to produce under the capitalist system ; too large a part of the national income going into savings or investments and speculation, instead of its being distributed to the larger part of the population on whose continued ability to absorb rested the stability and prosperity of the country ; on the foreign front, the contraction of the foreign market for American goods due to high tariff and war debt policy. Easy money meant easy credits, and unrestrained speculation. Ironically enough it was the depression of "plenty" not "poverty". It was the pile-up of wealth down which rolled the country headlong.

America has always been fortunate in its leaders. As Washington at Valley Forge, as Lincoln in the Civil War, Roosevelt took firm grip of the tottering ship. It is said that when Roosevelt was a little boy he had asked his mother for a boat as a birth-day gift, for he had an itch to direct ships through eddies and currents to safety. Now the nation had handed him the entire ship of the State. So much rested on him, so much was expected of him. He faced the people with confidence and friendliness. He realised that there were things more important than money : honesty, cleanliness in public life, integrity, freedom from corruption, a genuine consciousness of national responsibility, a feeling that he owed something to his people which his election to the high office lent sanctity to, and placed on him a great obligation. In his inaugural address, he thundered like Christ at the Temple about to sweep it clean of money-lenders and usurers : "Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of plenty..... I am prepared to recommend the

measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures I shall seek within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption," and (if Congress should fail to support him), "I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis, broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

Within 13 days of his inauguration he was asking Congress to pass a new measure. "I tell you frankly," said he, "that it is a new and untrodden path, but I tell you with equal frankness that an unprecedented condition calls for the trial of new means to rescue it." The extent of the distress can be judged by the one million families on relief. Thus Franklin Roosevelt, the strong man assisted by a group of intellectuals, economists, professors, idealists, practical businessmen, clubbed together as the Brain Trust, now set to work. In a way, this very catastrophe seemed to have released some pent up creative force, this very jolt given a new momentum.

The New Deal was not so much a programme of reconstruction and rehabilitation as a series of *ad hoc* legislative measures to meet exigencies as they arose. The New Dealers were men who still maintained faith in capitalism and were very American that way. They believed not so much in drastic changes as a few adjustments here and there. They hit upon a few things : break up gigantic economic concentration, create more opportunities for investment ; raise the purchasing power of the masses ; get industries to absorb more labour through shorter hours ; devise new jobs through creative and construction schemes, all more or less inter-allied. Side by side were inaugurated the long overdue social enactments for general

social welfare and security.

New Deal made an inauspicious start with the ambitious National Recovery Act, providing for "Codes of fair competition," in every industry to be decided upon by the National Recovery Administration with the assistance of employers and labour. But it came to untimely grief by the Supreme Court declaring it invalid. Since then have come a series of commendable acts, which although they could not arrest the disintegration of capitalism, nevertheless introduced a progressive era with a more intelligent attitude towards economic problems.

The four outstanding fields of New Deal reform were agriculture, labour, social security and administration. The farmers' income had gone to pieces, having dropped from $ 162 to $ 48. Their produce had lost their market value by 55%. But most tragic of all, the taxes and the interest on mortgages they had to pay remained the same Some one has described them as the men who were "ploughed under by growing debts and waning incomes." To meet this, it was necessary to raise commodity prices, reduce farm production to avoid large surpluses, encourage maintenance of soil fertility, make credit more easily available to farmers, rescue tenant farmers and those on the subsistence level, open up new home and foreign markets. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration aimed at raising prices and the farm purchasing power by creating a relative scarcity of certain farm products. Under this, farmers entered into agreements with the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust their production in accordance with the figure Government had fixed in return for benefit payments. For this purpose, the Commodity Credit Corporation was set up to help those who entered into these agreements. During the first year, nearly half a million such contracts were entered into. Agri-

cultural prices jumped 66% and rural income 40%, though this was off-set by the price rocketting for goods the farmers depended on. The Government also purchased food stuffs, especially surpluses to distribute to people in relief. It subsidised farms, meeting the cost out of a processing tax i.e. a tax on the consumer. Its most unhappy feature was the ruthless destruction of food and farm animals to keep up prices. Thus while plenty had created distress, artificial scarcity had to be created as cure for it. Thus went spinning the vicious circle. This Act was subsequently declared invalid by the Supreme Court as an encroachment on the States' powers by the Federal Authority. The Government however steadied itself under the blow by passing another Farm Relief Act in an attempt to plug the dents that were being pierced into the New Deal through which new harvest was threatening to run all out. Under this the Government provided money payments to farmers who would devote part of their land to soil-conserving. Six million farmers took advantage of this, receiving subsidies that averaged more than a hundred thousand dollars for each farmer. It also provided loans on surplus crops, storage facilities and insurances. The reduction in staple crops together with the devaluation of the dollar and the opening up of new markets resulted in raising the prices of agricultural products. The Farm Credit Association gave loans at the normal ratio of interest along with Production Credit Association. These were kind of Co-operative bodies of the upper class farmers who were "Good Business Risks." Government funds were secured by them and loaned out to the lower strata of farmers, either as long term credits on mortgages or short term ones on crops. The aim was self-help. As one Federal administrator put it, "It is cheaper and more self-respecting than giving relief". The Farm Security Administration

undertook to finance farm ownership for tenant farmers and the re-habilitation of marginal farmers. One piece of commendable work done by Farm Security is the aid extended to the migrants who are legally worse off than orphans, who seem to have no rights or claims on anything.

At the other end stood labour, bewildered, beaten, frustrated, and the New Deal came bravely to its rescue, opening a bright new chapter in the history of American labour. The National Recovery Act attempted to spread work, shorten hours, raise wages, and outlaw child labour, guarantee the right of collective bargaining and outlaw yellow dog contracts. When the Supreme Court killed this, two excellent basic laws were enacted to replace it. The Wagner Act enforces recognition of unions by employers and the right of collective bargaining, and places a ban on company unions. The fair Labour Standard Act is another helpful and progressive legislation. Under these bodies are set up to fix minimum wages and maximum hours, designed to put a ceiling over hours and a floor under wages, which up to the declaration of the present emergency, was 40 cents per hour and 40 hours per week with time and half for over time. The National Labour Relations Board was established to provide a tribunal armed with legal powers, which could investigate and prosecute any employer, who attempted to interfere with genuine attempts at unionisation.

A fine feature is the National Youth Administration, a very excellent body doing splendid work in assisting young people to get trained in various technical branches, carry on research, create jobs by giving them financial aid for it and receiving in return a variety of services from painting the boundary of foot-ball field to collecting statistics. Upto the outbreak of war, the Couth Programmes employed very nearly 1½ million youths, about a million of them being

men and the rest women, distributed over the C.C.C., W.P.A., and the National Youth Administration. Probably, New Deal's most positive contribution to recovery was its scheme for relief through public works financed by large scale borrowing. Never before had the Federal Government initiated relief, having left it to the option of States and municipalities. Now for the first time it assumed responsibility and began to exercise it through three projects. (1) Direct out-door relief by subsidising local agencies. (2) Employment in public works. (P.W.A.) (3) Temporary part-time employment, through Works Project Administration (W.P.A.), part of which, the Civilian Conservation Corp (C.C.C.) absorbing hundreds and thousands of unemployed youths, engaged in chiefly reforestation, terracing and other work for conserving land and forests. The P.W.A. undertook constructions, such as roads, bridges, big buildings, highways, tunnels, and the like, while the W. P. A. did more of the smaller jobs, its aim being to employ as many as possible. Soon the Federal Government had become the largest employer in the world, with 3 million directly on its payroll. The Public Works Administration divided the work and funds into four sections :—(1) Federal projects undertaken directly by the Government such as dams, bridges, national highways, naval construction, park work, post office buildings, public health, etc. (2) Non-federal projects undertaken by local Communities which received grants and loans from Washington for such things as municipal power plants, sewers, school-structures, street and highway projects, hospitals, etc. (3) Rail roads rehabilitation (4) Housing and slum clearances. These stupendous projects, achievements in themselves, gave great stimulus to all lines of business. Rail-roads were given funds for modernisation, new equipment, and the like. This was the first time

the Government assumed wholesale responsibility for the unemployed, finding them jobs that would be socially useful and call forth their natural talents. For instance, they set up "Sewing houses" for unemployed women. Until now the unemployed had been given more shift jobs or "boon doggling" as they were called, meaning changing dirt from one side of the street to the other. The most admirable effort under W.P.A. was the opportunity given to thousands for cultural expression. An artist could continue to be an artist, paint, carve, sculpture, sing, dance, act, decorate buildings, write, and achieve fulfilment through self-expression and at the same time earn his or her bread, without mutilation to the soul. It was as though the flood gates of creation had opened wide, through which undreamed of beauty and joy could flow out into the heart of millions. A whole variety of projects came into being all over, their diversity only matched by their excellence. The weary-eyed, with bent shoulders did not need to file up any more in the bread line. They had become self-respecting citizens each with his own favourite profession, which he could pursue in freedom.

The National Housing Act, one of the fruits of New Deal was to help home-owners re-finance them to make repairs and improvements in their houses, which has proved a progressive and beneficial factor in so far as it has made provision for the construction of model apartments for people of low incomes, and for the resettling of agriculturists in rural areas. Under this the Federal Housing authority concerned itself with city projects, while the Re-settlement Administration devoted itself to housing in villages, building of model villages and so on. Model working towns like Norris in Tenessee were constructed.

One of New Deal's aim being the break up of intense

economic concentration, it decided to curtail the power of banks which dominate industries, and to enforce anti-trust laws vigorously. Banks were closed and re-opened under stricter supervision and with government guarantee of deposits, devalued the dollar abandoning the gold standard, with a view to controlling inflation and raising commodity prices. It formulated codes of fair practices for business, designed to end wasteful competition. The first of the various measures was the Banking Act which sought to divorce commercial and investment banking, provide for insurance of deposits, and vest in the Federal Reserve Board the right to control loans entering speculative channels. Securities Exchange Commission was established to regulate the issue of new Securities and trading of old, forbid operation of pools or other devices for manipulating market values, penalise promoters for making false statements in securities sales, so as to break up the great holding companies.

Another step in the same direction was to direct the Federal Power Commission to supervise inter-State transmission of electric power and the Federal Trade Commission gas. It prohibited officers of banks or investment and brokerage houses from serving on public utilities companies and it was given power to abolish all holding companies that were proved to be acting against public interest. Inter-company taxes on the income of the rich and of corporations were raised, and loop-holes in the tax laws plugged up.

Arising directly out of this was the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) to provide seven Southern States with electric power and fertiliser and to supervise re-forestation, control of floods and soil erosion, erection of ten dams, of subsistence homesteads, educational institutions, etc. Public Works Administration supplied

funds for this scheme and under it was created the Electric Home and Farm authority to inaugurate electric appliances and equipment, which was in itself a great forward step for the backward South. The significance of T.V.A. lies in its being the first large-scale experiment in public ownership and operation. Before its coming public utilities were the monopoly of big business who reaped high profits by converting essential requirements into rare expensive articles. The T.V.A. is a power in more ways than one and the use of the word 'authority' seems very appropriate. A whole series of functions usually executed through scores of governmental departments were concentrated in one single body. It was an independent concern expected to pay its way along by developing the valley of the great Tennessee River. The T.V.A. is unique in other ways too.

Power projects are usually associated in people's minds with the conquest of man over his environment. But T.V.A. is something more than that. It represents cooperative power, the peaceful order wrought out of fathomless confusion by the simple process of coordinated community work, by big men and little men, of unlettered men and university graduates, all filled with a simple faith in each other and in their job, the symbol of their unity. It has changed their mental process and helped them discover themselves. The construction camp also brought along with it the beginnings of public health services, scientific control of diseases, public libraries and the like.

The T.V.A. was instructed by the Congress to promote the "economic and social well-being of the people living in that river basin." Electricity is now being carried to every farm. The farmers are taught to create their own fertilizers. They are encouraged to run demonstration farms for experimental purpose and such farms are now

on the increase, 43 thousand in 28 States in 8 years. They have also developed cooperative farming. On the average there has been an all round increase especially in food, milk, vegetables, fruits, corn, cotton and tobacco, with hardly any increase in labour. There are also produced rayon, oxygen, hydrogen, sulphuric acid and other chemicals as also aluminium and basis for synthetic rubber.

But the real magnitude of the T.V.A. should be measured in terms of the lives of people in the valley, the creation of an orderly, disciplined execution of large-scale planning through cooperative effort. In a way the T.V.A. seemed to take the men and women into partnership. As one of its reports says : " Final success is as much a matter of general consent as of initiative ". For the real aim of power projects should be to make it serve the little men of whom the world is composed, make their labour productive, lend their lives dignity and peace, their minds creativeness and freedom. Thus behind the steel and concrete of the T.V.A. is the moving human story of a people whose little lives have been transformed.

After nearly six years of T.V.A. operation, the Supreme Court finally legalised it, for this great project had by no means a smooth sailing. Its very existence seemed a threat to those in power-business around. Its constitutional authority was questioned no less than 57 times and injunctions were brought against it 26 times. But it fought and has now settled down as an established institution in the country. In the State of Tennessee alone it has meant a saving of 8 million dollars annually. As a result, industrial investments have doubled, use of electricity in farms trebled, and navigation extended. The T.V.A. is said to be " on the cutting edge " of the American evolution process. It affects an area as large as England. It is so colos-

sal a structure that it would strike a Roman Emperor dumb. Designers have co-ordinated myriad parts in a vast symphony of picture and colour construction.

Of fundamental importance amongst the several New Deal innovations were the social security measures, long overdue and which now brought America into line with the other enlightened countries of the world. The recovery measures could not have made any head-way without incorporating these principles. One of them was the Social Security Act. It provided for six categories of aid, the most important being old age and unemployment insurance, also financial assistance to the blind, to the physically handicapped, to the needy children, and for improved public health. It seeks to aid three types of people : old people without means, the blind and children without a breadwinner. Old age pensions have now been adopted by practically all States. Two plans are in operation, one is direct aid to the needy aged, to be paid on a fifty-fifty basis by the State and by the Federal Government. This is payable to workers and to certain dependents and survivors only if the worker has received wages in employment covered by the Act. Following the Federal pattern, the State makes its own laws on this. Every State requires that a person should be residing in the State for a specific period, say five or six years before applying for aid. Federal money is granted to States only for assistance to persons who are in need but each State decided conditions of application of funds. Under the Act, the States must provide fair hearings before the State agency. There are three kinds of old age insurance. (1) A lump sum payment at 65 (2) Lump sum payment at death. (3) Monthly retirement benefits at 65, the amount determined by the wages received from 1937 to the day before attaining the age of 65. The old age pen-

sion extends benefits to the family as well. The wife if she is 65, gets half her husband's allowance, or a child under 16, or under 18 if attending school, is also entitled to a separate benefit, equal to one half of the father's annuity. It also provides for survivors of an insured worker, widow, children or aged parents.

Unemployment insurance benefits are paid to unemployed workers who are able and willing, but cannot find jobs, provided that during the year or two before they became unemployed they had done a certain amount of work in jobs which came under their State's unemployment compensation laws. These benefits help the fairly regular workers to tide over the gap from one job to another. All jobs except agricultural and domestic are covered. The workers must have put in some work during the year or preceding two, to be qualified. Only in three States a worker is denied benefits if he has been involved in a labour dispute.

The Federal Government lays it down that this insurance should be raised through a tax on pay rolls to be paid by employers only. The proceeds are held in the Federal Treasury for eventual distribution through the State Insurance Systems, and payments to beneficiaries depend upon the size of the sum collected. Some half the States have some form of unemployment insurance.

Forty States give aid to the physically-handicapped, the method being the same as the old age pension scheme.

American affairs have always been so dominated by big business, it used to be said that it had a preferential mortgage on the national income! In spite of all the criticism to the contrary, the fact remains that big business gained immeasurably by the New Deal. The reconstruction

Finance Corporation became in fact the giant prop that held up America's tottering financial world. It stabilised all credit corporations and the like and helped them expand on government capital when their own was cracking. It is obvious that when American capitalism was on its knees, in utter panic and helplessness it turned to Roosevelt, who taking it by the scarf of its neck as one would a drowning-man, saved it in spite of itself.

Industrial production in 1944 stoked by Government orders was more than twice as high as the peak reached in any previous year. In 1929 corporate profits after deducting taxes, amounted to $ 7.2 billion and in 1944 they ran in the neighbourhood of 9 billion. Despite administrative "meddling" the corporations allotted more than $ 20.5. billion in dividends and $20 billion in undistributed profits. The Securities and Exchange Commission reports that the American net working capital was $ 44.3 billion. In fact none of the usual barbs of accusation against government of robbing industry of its legitimate profits, really fit into the actual picture.

Finally the Roosevelt regime inaugurated important and far-reaching reforms in administration. The executive department of the government, which had grown in a helter-skelter fashion and which was inefficient and extravagant, was re-organized and reformed. The Hatch Act, perhaps the most important civil service reform since the original Act of 1883, prohibited, 'pernicious political activities' on the part of government employees, and struck at the corruption and extravagance of political parties. In 1937 came an intriguing tussle between the President and the Supreme Court. All Roosevelt's splendid efforts in the direction of breaking new ground were being set at nought by the grey wigs who sat on this Bench. Roosevelt the

strong, with his firm jaw, set about putting this right. He proposed the retirement of the flabby aged justices in order to attempt a fresh blood transfusion. This caused as much of a storm then as the idea of the third term was to, later. The proposal was rejected, but nevertheless the spirit behind it caught on. The Supreme Court came to be practically changed, and soon fell into tune with public feeling on its attitude towards new and more liberal measures.

One of the great weaknesses of the New Deal was its top heaviness. It went on building such a huge machinery, employing so many hands, preparing so many codes, set up so many departments with alphabetical nick-names that a regular forest sprang up into which people were endlessly getting entangled, and the entire show fairly threatened to run away with itself. Unfortunately it was big business which was most highly organized and could exploit the situation to its best advantage. Last but not least, the New Deal brought into existence, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (the now famous FBI) to investigate and fight crime. The Federal Government sincerely aimed at putting down corruption and the highest tribute one may pay the New Deal Administration, is that it was the cleanest and least corrupt.

The New Deal may be said to have gone through three distinct phases. Roosevelt's first term when it was just a tussle between the old entrenched reactionary forces and feebler progressive ones ; the end of the first term and immediately preceding the second when the centre of gravity seemed to have shifted and progressive elements were coming to the top and it looked as though America was getting a break. Out of the long inky blue night peeped out the first streak of light. Hope kindled like a spring morning.

The third phase opened with the rapid decline in the

international situation. There was a swift swerve once more to the right. Roosevelt had come to office to clear the temple and drive away the money-changers. He had come out to save the capitalistic order from the inevitable final decay, by strong centralised control and drastic measures. In a way so had Hitler but whereas Roosevelt could temporise and feel confident of taking the middle way, Hitler was convinced he had to go the whole hog or bow to the crash of a revolutionary social change. For in Germany capitalism was weakened like a dried up branch while correspondingly the social forces were better organised and fit to take power. But in America although the masses were considerably shaken by the catastrophic depression, they had not quite lost faith in the infallibility of their free competitive system; moreover the more radical and left forces had not emerged as an organised force, while the barricades were already up in France and Germany. The European right was already beginning to abandon the make-believe appeasing and conciliating of the left while Roosevelt & Company were still optimistic about working on the basis of class collaboration.

The New Deal has activised many progressive currents. It is by no means a radical measure, but well in keeping with the Aemerican Political traditions, born out of the throes of a crisis, more as a temporary bridge for crossing over a flood. Nobody quite knew where they were going, some said Roosevelt was swinging the country into socialism, and others into Fascism. Perhaps he expressed it best in his plain blunt way when he quoted the American proverb, "We don't know where we are going, but we are on our way." It was typical of America, launching daringly into an unchartered sea with that unfailing self-confidence.

It started however with three initial handicaps; it represented a tumultuous coalition of classes whose desires or ambitions rarely seemed to harmonise or adjust. Even more irreconcilable were the profits of the various groups, and relief to one invariably meant an assault on another. For instance Roosevelt before donning the presidential cap had condemned "ploughing under" and shooting dairy cows as a cruel joke. But he found himself indulging in the joke and on a gigantic scale when he took the ruler's sceptre in his hand. The cruelest part of it is that at the end of seven years of New Deal a million and a half of the farmers had lost their homesteads through foreclosures in spite of all New Deal's heroic efforts. Young New Deal might have dared the very gods and won, but challenging this desolate creeky profit system was bound to be a discouraging show. Its political citadel was the Democratic Party which bred in its bosom some of New Deal's bitterest opponents. The impact of a world moving rapidly into war began first to encroach and then make frontal attacks on its diverse and delicate structures. As the warfare gripped the country, New Deal began to thin out. Much of it has faded out by now except the vibrant memory of a current that for a while acted as a first aid in a sorry crash. But the spirit of New Deal has left its touches. America is not the same. It has made a difference and that does matter. The clock has not quite been put back yet, and undoubtedly the many beneficial measures it brought have decidedly come to stay, the best is perhaps President Roosevelt's promise of an Economic Bill of Rights.

CHAPTER IV.

RULERS OF AMERICA

Frederick C. Howe describing conditions in the State of Wisconsin at the beginning of the eighties says : " The whole State was a feudatory of the railway and franchise interests, which with the machine of federal office holders, nominated and elected governors, United States Senators and Congressmen who, in turn made use of their power to enrich their creators. Federal and State patronage was used for the same ends. Politics was a privileged trade into which ambitious men entered only when approved by the State machine. Few believed any other methods were possible and no one challenged the rule of the oligarchy which distributed elective as well as appointive offices for the maintenance of its political and industrial power." What was true of one State was more or less typical of most others.

The rise of big business giant combines was the dominant feature of the U.S. industrialism. The America of Jefferson's dream was a land of farmers, " While we have land to labour, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at the work bench or twirling a distaff " was his fervent wish. The America of Lincoln's day was a country of small enterprise. Forty years later, the whole scene was entirely transformed by the organization of independent companies into centralised concerns. Where more than 2000 factories had manufactured agricultural implements, one single company, the International Harvester, made them all. Standard oil had swallowed up most of the smaller oil companies

and was practically the sole oil monarch. Astute businessmen had begun to see that if competing firms could be welded into a single concern, prices could be controlled. This was realised through the corporation, which Wilson called "a little economic State" and which a modern author has described as a fictitious person who could enjoy all the legal advantages but escape most of the moral responsibility. Out of the combination of corporations came trusts, where stock-holders placed their stocks in the hands of trustees to manage the business of all. By virtue of their capital resources, they acquired enormous power to drive hard bargains with labour, to eliminate lesser units, meet foreign competition and above all exercise immense influence over State and national politics.

Allan Nevins draws the following picture of the role of government in this rising industrialisation: "Throughout the Government after the Civil War the business interests were in charge of not only the national but of State legislatures. The system of protective tariffs, established during the war an an emergency measure, was continued chiefly on the plea that high American standard of living must be protected against low-wage countries; and the iron, steel, copper, marble, wool-growing, textile, and china-ware industries were particularly favoured beneficiaries. The Congressional grant of subsidies to railroads was imitated by States and local communities until altogether the railroads reaped a harvest of some $750,000,000 in land, stock, tax-exemptions, and other gratuities. Government authorities took a complacent attitude toward land-grabbing and toward timber-cutting and cattle-grazing on the public domain; numerous fortunes were founded on exploitation of the property of the nation. Congress showed little inclination to regulate private enterprise, and the courts gave substantial im-

munity to restrictive legislation coming from the States. Not until after the turn of the century was the philosophy of 'rugged individualism' effectively challenged.

Right on from the late eighties, crusades have been conducted, battles fought, Congressional measures enacted from time to time to combat the evils of monopoly and purify public life. But they have not been as effective as one would wish, partly because they did not go far enough and partly because of the half-heartedness of the Congress, which believed more in appeasing all sections than drastically altering the situation by breaking up the alignment of forces.

The long line of Republican Presidents, because of the historical alignment of the party with industrialists had given the latter and the *laissez fare* policy, an easy run. Theodore Roosevelt, an enlightened conservative, like his later day namesake, believed that the Government was supreme over business and the man in the street should get a "square deal". "The great development of industrialism means that there must be an increase in the supervision exercised by Government over business enterprise", he declared. He called the railroad regulation the "paramount issue," and was usually energetic in getting through the Anti-Trust Laws. From Roosevelt to Roosevelt much water had flowed under the Potamac bridge, but the core of the evil remained. Like the poor it is always with them. The Americans are better off than others, but not as well off as they should be considering their resources, wealth and technical genius. "One-third of the nation is ill-housed, ill-nourished," stated Franklin Roosevelt. Rural and urban slums are vividly described by Government and private social agencies alike. Medical and educational facilities are amazingly inadequate in the poorer rural areas. Even as

late as 1930, there were some 800,000 children in those parts who never went to school, and two-thirds of them had few medical services. What then happens to America's wealth? Who owns it? Who basks in its glittering glow and reaps its manifold fruits? Therein lies the mystery of this spectacular paradox, this vortex of contradiction.

Much has been written and said on the ruling families of America, the oligarchy which dominates the country. "The U.S. is owned to-day by an hierarchy of its sixty richest families, buttressed by no more than 90 families of lesser wealth. Outside this plutocratic circle there are perhaps 350 other families, less defined in development and wealth," so says Fardinand Leinberg in his study of this citadel of wealth and power.

This concentrated accumulation of the requisites of national life in the hands of a few, is unique in history. The might of Richeleu, Metternich or Bismarck pale into insignificance before that of Carnegie or Ford; the proud aristocracy of Louis XIV or the Czar Nicholas looks shabby by the side of the glamorous Mellons and Du Ponts. The domain of Napoleon shrinks into a back-yard under the shadow of a Morgan or Rockefeller Empire. And the devastating blight of a war which wiped out the crowned heads and threw their sceptres into the lumber room actually raised these uncrowned rulers of the New World to the thrones of power unconceived by man hitherto. The wealthiest aristocrat in Europe before the Emperors faded out into the night of oblivion, was Archduke Frederick of Austria, whose estate was valued at $750,000,000. To-day a Rockefeller eclipses its resplendency by two and a half to three billion dollars. In addition the Rockefellers have vast sums concentrated in tax-exempt securities, and they systematically obtain tax reduction by a policy of non-

commercial investment in the form of "philanthropy"

The control points of wealth in industrial society as in feudal society, is the family. This pattern lends itself admirably for the purpose of concentration and continued possession, facilitates alliances, permits confidential financial transactions, provides a safe cover from the prying eyes of the law and the public alike, for processes which can't stand the lime-light. These families have been buttressed by marriages amongst themselves, the joint fortunes passing on to children who, in turn, pair off with members of other similar unions. Partnerships once open to any man of requisite ability, are now often reserved for their sons. One also finds that they tend to resort to protective phalanxes, just as in feudal society, by pledging allegiance to one dominant family, and while the Bourbons, the Hapsburgs and the like divided territory, their American counterparts divide industries and finance. The private banking corporations and the formal alliances are their ramparts. For instance, the total extent of Morgan power defies definitions. Their financial citadel stands like a medieval fortress, holding within it more than one fourth of America's total corporate wealth. The assets of the Morgan-controlled American Telephone and Telegraph Company exceed in value the wealth of 21 States of the Union taken together and those of 800 average sized corporations.

The very existence of a ruling class presupposes special rights and privileges which it alone enjoys. Where it cannot obtain this by legislative action, it gains by intrigue and stealth. "The uprush of the American fortunes, led by the monolithic Rockefeller accumulation, emphasises that although the United States was once a great political democracy, it has not remained one. Citizens may still be equals at the polls, where little is de-

cided but they are not equals at the bank-tellers' wickets, where much is decided. The U. S. has produced in the Standard Oil Co., the Ford, the Aluminium Co. of America, E.I. du Pont, de Nemours and other industrial enterprises what are essentially feudal, dictatorially ruled, dynastic fiefs that make the old crown properties of Romanovs, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Hanovers seem, by comparison, like Will o' the Wisps, insecure and insubstantial. The lowest one-third must "pursue life, liberty and happiness" on an income of less than $780; the most coveted things, health, comfort, security, are on the top ladder—hard to reach out to—", so writes a modern student of the rulers of America.

It is characteristic, however, of the wealthy families of America that hardly any of these has escaped from being indicted or placed on trial for some serious crime or misdemeanor, such as tax evasion, restraint of trade or other illegal acts against the public interest. Their acquittal however suggests that the course of justice under the American judicial system flows in two separate streams and while one carries the poor to jail the other carries the rich to freedom. Standing behind these massive walls are the non-commercial foundations, insurance companies which intensify industrial, financial and political strength in the controllers of their finances; institutional foundations such as educational centres, religious establishments, social service organisations, hospitals and the like. They are of value for social control through their grip on the finances.

The journalism of the U.S. is the personal affair of the wealthy families bought and paid for. Journalism the most powerful factor that moulds public mind, naturally attracts the ruling class in every country, and America is no exception. There is little in American journalism to-

day which does not emanate from the family dynasties. "The press lords of America are actually to be found among the multi-millionare families", so says a writer on American journalism.

The newspapers may be roughly divided into those controlled directly by political parties, those which, though nominally independent, have affiliations to the ruling class and depend for their prosperity on their good-will, and those directly owned by these wealthy families. This ownership however is often kept secret or carefully veiled from the public. These include the biggest metropolitan newspapers and national magazines. The spreading of their widening ramification may be gauged by the fact that after World War No. 1, nearly a thousand independent newspapers, succumbing to the tentacles of big finance, just faded out. One of the most powerful instruments of control in this field is advertisements. Rockefeller is able to indirectly control vast chains of them through the oil advertisements. Hundreds of such papers boost the Standard Oil and write laudatory articles about the Rockefeller family. Morgan even surpasses the Oil Magnate, for the Morgans control more advertising than any other single finance group, which means the subservience of the so-called independent papers to this group. Over a 1000 newspapers in New England are on their pay-roll which amounts to about $400,000, annually. In the course of a Senate Committee evidence, it was brought to light that the American Associations of Foreign Language Newspapers was acquired by the Du Ponts for the purpose of controlling 500 foreign language papers of some 5 million circulation, through advertisements. Rockefeller, along with his other smaller allies, controls every single newspaper in Montana State through the Copper Mining Company. The Curtis

family rose to wealth solely on the back of the printed word. This family is again an appendage of the Morgans.

The Hearst family does not rank in the galaxy of the "sixty," but rather with the "ninety" of the surrounding rampart. This great chain of papers is kept in circulation not through publication profits but by the power pumped by the Mining and Banking concerns wherein we see the enveloping of the press by big finance. Hearst, like other magnates, has been carrying on with unprofitable publications, because they provide political influence, the losses being made up by profitable enterprise, by tax-deductions in consolidated holding company income-tax returns. In other words subsidized papers are run for the profits they bring in the shape of confidential political phases.

The political party organs, though not directly owned by the "sixty," are very sensitive to the top families through the nerve centre of the party funds. Hence they can't be said to be very free. Even the independent ones cannot be very independent because of the financial and social ramifications of the big interest who control U.S. economy and society. They are moreover small in number. Thus a press directly controlled or dominated by a class functions to serve the interest of that class. This makes the much vaunted "freedom of the press" largely a theoretical boast. If some newspaper concern does dare to indulge in "muckraking" to serve the larger social interests, it is usually forced out of business. Freedom in this instance may be described more as from Governmental trammels. The centralized control of the oligarchy is dramatically brought home when the occasional newspaper campaign blizzards sweep over the country, such as was occasioned by Roosevelt's elections,

the most spectacular in recent years, when nearly 88% of the newspapers opposed him, calumniating him and his supporters. Big business does not always conceal its real face behind a mask of niceties. It sometimes chooses on unusual occasions to reveal its countenance and indulge in plain speaking. Here is what its journal once said : " It is difficult to guess what the editorial writer of the New York Herald Tribune means when he says the American newspaper has always been an institution affected with a public interest. It is flatly untrue, but there is much ignorance and hypocrisy about the matter calling for some plain speaking. A newspaper is a private enterprise, owing nothing whatever to the public which grants it no franchise. It is therefore affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk. If the public does not like his opinions or his method, it is under no obligation to buy the paper—it may be said that editors, except where they own their own newspapers, take their policy from their employers." In the reasoning of Wall Street, a newspaper is not affected with public interest and its proprietor may turn it to any use he sees fit within the tricky corners of the libel laws. It is also characteristic of the secret control by big business, to keep their own affairs, their wealth, transactions out of the public glare of newspapers. This suppression extends even to official findings and judicial proceedings against them. Such concealment and suppression also extend to their dealings with labour as these cannot always bear the scrutiny of the public eye. Falsification is also resorted to in the presentation of the market and banking conditions when truth is considered not in their interest. The iron chain of coordination which the family alliances make possible, contri-

butes to its complete success, since these linking chains cover wide and diverse fields of interest and activity.

All this has made for a distrust of the press on the part of a small intelligent and more discriminating section, and as a consequence there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of specialised information and private news services of whose existence the general public is not always aware.

The philanthropy of these personages is as spectacular and as much of a labyrinth of bye-paths and shady lanes as their commercial net-works. This may seem cynical but an objective study reveals many unseen factors. No doubt much good has accrued to mankind through research and educational enterprises. But in the first place these gifts form a very trivial percentage of their income, and make a non-commercial investment, saving the amount from passing through the sieve of inheritance and income taxes. The donors usually retain control over these funds as the Members of the Trust usually come from the illustrious "sixty", acquiring both dominance and influence to themselves in a variety of ways. They have a dualistic aspect, for these trusts function intensively as well as extensively. In the one instance they supply the emotional and sentimental factor and in the other, the harder business aspect, for most of these trusts belong to the power group. And as the taxes have been raised these gifts have proportionately risen in a marked way. Frederick P. Keppel, the President of the Carnegie Foundation, confessed to this when he said that doubts and fears concerning taxation, spur "giving", for only thus can the wealthy retain control over a maximum of assets in a period of relatively high estate and income taxes. The Foundation funds are in short a means of controlling industry while escaping taxes, for while the

rich may forego a small part of their income, they in no way sacrifice their power. At the same time the power of the Foundation is so subtly defined that without expending any extra money, they can influence the attitude of professional and technical people who need to go on with their work, and who shape their attitudes consciously or unconsciously so as to please potential donors, and, with few exceptions, rarely challenge the present social order. The Foundations also feed to create a bias in favour of the rich. E. C. Lindeman, the outstanding authority on Foundations, says that his first surprise was to discover that those who managed Foundations and trusts did not wish to have these investigated and that it took him 8 years of effort and wholly disproportionate expenses to discover even the basic quantitative facts. Commenting on their administration he says, "It seems to me entirely reasonable and clear that independent scholars, writers and critics should have some voice in determining the ends for which vested wealth is used. They cannot make an effective contribution if they become subservient to Foundation officials or trustees. If there is to be in our society a reservoir of wealth which is not needed for material purposes or if it is conceived that cultural aims are necessary if economic progress is to lead towards true social progress, then it seems clear that the use of such a fund should devolve upon persons who are culturally minded in a valid sense. Nothing is so repugnant as the arrogance of those who presume to impose cultural norms upon society on no basis or warrant other than their pecuniary success under the dispensation of a competitive economy." Gifts in many other shapes of public utilities afford a means to the wealthy of spending money themselves, and when it is on constructions, roads, and such like projects, part of the money

flows back as payment for materials supplied by concerns they directly or indirectly hold. As Lundberg, the celebrated social investigator, has cynically remarked : " The rich grow richer and more powerful by the practice of philanthropy as it is loosely defined."

A multimillionaire also seeks to diversify the treasure chests in which his wealth is held, and works of art provide a special and attractive manner for holding their precious gold, just as real estate, jewels, and life insurance policies do. A huge art collection is on a par with a big insurance policy, for it is a security against the freaks of fortune, financial fluctuation, taxation laws, bank crashes and a host of other vagaries of our present economic world. It is ridiculous to suppose that the mere acquisition of wealth automatically generates in the bosom of the acquisitors love of art. That their interest is not always in the realm of art but often in the value of the objects of art is best proved by the fact that this class and its assets do not generally serve to lighten the burden of struggling artists ; that when some 50 thousand artists working on the W. P. A. cultural projects lost their opportunity when the war-flood wiped their allowance off, no other agency came forward to serve these valuable enterprises and save the budding artists. This is what Bertram Wolfe says to these art patrons : " The art museums of America to-day are a big business ; their principal benefactors and dominant directors are generally the richest men in their respective communities ; their inter-locking directorates read not unlike those of any other large corporate interests. To be 'taken up' by them is to be " made ", to defy them is to be 'unmade', so far as black-listing can unmake one."

Very similar is the state of affairs in the educational field. Albert Ward, President of West Maryland College,

who made a study of endowments reported that ten institutions catering to 17% of the students held 43% of the recorded educational endowments, while three hundred belonging to the lower classes catering to 41% of the students held only 19%. The backbone of the U.S. education is the State and it is only in the specialized process of forging men for selective uses that the endowments come in. Here again there is the same preponderance of bankers and other money motivated persons as trustees. It is not surprising that such bodies should plump for men after their own heart to serve as heads of academic institutions, men, who will speak and stand for the *status quo* in society. It is also not unusual to find large commercial concerns having a controlling hand through the trusteeships. For instance the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (in other words the Morgans) appear to hold more trusteeships than any other big corporation. For this reason the University of Wisconsin had withstood until recently all tempting offers on the ground that such contributions exercise influence over the recipient. As the bulk of these incomes are derived from private industrial corporations, the University bodies become sensitive to their existence, and often resent any challenge to their present form. Under such auspices, it is, therefore, not surprising that free, independent, social thinkers and men standing for radical changes in society, are more an exception in the academic professions than the rule, and amongst the heads of institutions are to be found some of the worst reactionaries in the country. The fate of Bertrand Russel has been the fate of scores of others, distinguished economists, historians, sociologists, etc. On the files of organizations like the Civil Liberties Union are reports of innumerable cases of the

dismissal of men of unorthodox views. This is how Lundberg describes the interaction between the donors and educational concerns :

"As the control of colleges and Universities slipped from the hands of the clergy after the civil war, the pecuniary element eased itself into dominance. The overwhelming presence of bankers as trustees and regents became only logical, once the inner pecuniary motivation of the American University was granted, because the endowments, in combination with the philanthropic foundations, conferred upon the trustees a large amount of industrial control and voting power as well as strategic supervision over research and studies. The University endowments are really instruments of industrial as well as social control, and like other endowments, are tax-exempt, making possible an ever enlarging concentration of authority in the hands of the rich."

Whenever money coagulates in society, the wealthy stretch out their grasping hands to lay their grip on it, whether it be in the field of philanthropy, education, science, health, charity. One of the ways of doing it, besides control of trusteeship, is by spacing the gifts, giving relatively smaller amounts at intervals. Few make large outright gifts, for through gifts, as through earnings, can dynasties of wealth be perpetuated.

We may now turn from the finesse and niceties of the artistic and educational hobbies of the wealthy to their bizarre extravagances on personal amusements and comforts. One of the traditional extravagances indulged in by the plutocrats, besides jewellery, is entertaining. Nowhere in the world perhaps one sees such dazzling and fantastic displays except, may be, when the Indian Maharajahs entertain their British masters. The cost of each party some-

times ranges from 50 to 100 thousand dollars. "At a dinner eaten on horseback," says the historian Charles Beard writing of the 1890's, "the favourite steed was fed flowers and champaigne ; to a small black dog wearing a diamond collar worth $15,000, a lavish banquet was tendered ; at one function the cigarettes were wrapped in hundred dollar bills; at another fine black pearls were given to the diners in Oysters ; human gold fish swam about in pools and chorus girls hopped out of pies." This tradition has now been improved upon by science. At a dinner given in this decade by some wealthy Turfmen, the ball room was transformed into a replica of a race track, and as the guests dined in the de-luxe-boxes, there performed before them prize mounts, and champaigne was drunk to the resounding thud of galloping hoofs. Sometimes the room is converted into a moon-lit garden, at others into a garden alive with bright plumaged birds ; showers of rose petals fall delicately on the dancers from an electrically-motivated sky.

Equally over-powering are their mansions with jade ceilings, pink and black marble baths, mosaic interiors, hand-painted swimming pools. There are ancient castles imported from Europe in packing cases. A whole Bavarian village has been re-constructed ; tropical gardens housed in vast acres of glass houses, with separate orchards from which are plucked oranges and nectrines and exotic fruits all the year round. Some houses contain complete hospital equipment and elaborate apparatus for checking one's condition, fluoroscopes, machines for taking basal metabolism, small tanks of oxygen, etc. The transplanting of a single bush is said to have cost $ 25,000. One mansion made in the replica of Versailles, contains 145 rooms, 45 bathrooms and 14 elevators. Some of the families own fleets of yachts,

some as many as 12 to 13, some of which are equipped with air-plane cradles on the after deck, one of them half the size of the China clipper. Proportionately the ownership of cars runs from 25 to 50, with some even owning a hundred.

It is often asserted that large wealth is dissipated in three generations, but whatever its truism in regard to smaller fortunes, it certainly is not true of large investments, which not merely perpetuate but even grow. An heir is far more likely to exhaust himself before he melts down his funds, said an economist. Under the prevailing system the larger incomes grow larger from generation to generation and the capital investments have become too much a part of the country's economy to become the playthings of each inheritor's vagaries. Big business is therefore the goose that lays the golden egg, and vested interests and some Congressmen who get a chance to nibble at the egg, are alike chary of congressional Acts which may upset its sensitive profilicacity. "To-day's profits and tomorrow's are at issue in almost every legislative tussle," says a Washington correspondent.

Pressure on administration is exercised by various methods particularly through the elections, by contributing to the party campaign funds. Presidents are known to have been installed by banking capital through financing elections. Commodities have ruled in succession as the copper administration has been followed by oil. The common instrument for effectively pursuing this has for generations been the lobby. It is made up of individuals who become lobbyists to represent certain interests, and may be called peddlers of personal influence, or amateurs who espouse and work for a cause they believe in. But mostly they are paid propagandists, or Pressure Boys, as they are

popularly known. Big interest is not prepared to take chances with the Congress or permit inconvenient legislative measures. At times, it wants to make the laws itself to entrench its own position better. It has, therefore, set up a powerful machinery for this purpose.

There are varying estimates of the role and importance of the lobby. Justice Hugh Black of the Supreme Court said not so long ago in a radio speech: "Contrary to tradition, against the public morals, and hostility to good government, the lobby has reached such a position of power that it threatens Government itself. Its size, its power, its capacity for evil, its greed, its trickery, deception and fraud condemn it to the death it deserves."

"Nearly every activity of the human mind has been capitalized by some grafter with headquarters at Washington" is the cynical observation of a Congressman.

The lobby business is as gigantic as its citadels, such as the Chambers of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, all of whom seem endowed with immense drawing power. In a few cases businessmen take to direct lobbying but it is only in rare cases that one gets a "respectful" hearing. Mostly the job is done by professionals some of whom once happened to hold executive positions in political parties, and utilise their past offices, as a springboard for a lobby specialist's job. Lawyers seem to have the lion's share of the business, along with retired Congressmen and occasionally a few retired Cabinet officials thrown in with some pressmen, all constituting a caucus firmly entrenched and playing a decisive role in administrative affairs. Washington, their Mecca, alone is said to have some 6000 of them, not to speak of the groups in the different State capitals. It is said that with a few jingling coins and a nose-gay of favours to distribute they can

make white look black and black look white, mislead the Congress on vital issues and delude the people on the doings of the Congress. G. W. Edwards, a member of the Merchant Marine, frankly avowed : "A Congressman must derive some of his income from other sources than being a member of the House."

The dryness of this group is sometimes relieved by women some of whom do pretty well for themselves. It is also not unusual to find the lobby personalities changing with changing Government.

" It is improbable that a single important law enacted in the last ten years has been written by its congressional sponsor or its nominal author. Legislation is almost invariably prepared in the office of a lobby," observes Kenneth Crawford in his study of lobbying.

Lobby depends primarily on subterfuge and hiding the real facts, unless the lobbying is in the social or economic interest of the larger masses of the people, where real facts are too often unknown or kept hidden, and need to be exposed. What is usually published is misleading and the public gets but a distorted picture.

The modern technique of the lobbymen is directed towards influencing the constituents of the Congressmen as well and not merely the Congressmen. The entire process is a study in corruption. A congressional investigation of the lobby in President Wilson's time was so revealing of the questionable methods adopted by some of the organisations of manufacturers to control some members of the Committees and some of the personnel of the Congress, as to make that high-browed gentleman burst forth, that while the lobbies could not buy up the entire Congress, they could keep some of the members of Committees in their vest pockets. The less the Administration is willing to lend

itself to serve big interests, the more active the lobby becomes. Vast sums of money are expended on the lobby work. When the Holding Company Bill which was mainly directed against the big utility corporations was on, Senate investigation proved that thousands of phoney telegrams bought and paid for by the utilities and signed with names taken at random from telephone directories, were sent to Congressmen incurring an expenditure of some $ 4,000,000 to torpedo the Bill. The druggists and groceries spent $1,000,000 to put over the Tydings Bill permitting the drug and liquor industries to fix the minimum retail sales price of branded goods. When a Bill was introduced giving the Government some degree of control over manufacturers to restrain them from selling any kind of muck from factory sweepings under delusive labels, even the Medical Association which is expected to expose frauds, failed to give it full support. Issues were deliberately confused. A cry of threat to freedom of the press and individual was raised and sufficient public opposition worked up including the inevitable red bogey, in order to water down the measure, and leave the concerns free to advertise their quack stuff. Evidently all is fair in profits even if they come out of ignorance and credulity of the helpless sick who fall victims to it. In the same way during the war limb manufacturers have successfully sabotaged improved appliances for the crippled.

There are different classes in lobby. At the top the "super colossal," and then the lesser lights down the ladder. High up at the top stand the Motion Pictures. They hire a man on 2,50,000 a year for lobbying for them. This is not surprising as it is one of the tightest trusts in the country. The eight big units control most of the picture business, production, distribution and also theatres (mainly

first-run ones) and where they don't have direct control, they have indirect. They are even said to control the consumers' and exhibitors' organizations which are supposed to be fighting them. They have been able to paralyse anti-trust laws by various devices such as buying up motion-picture houses in all of the key distribution points, forcing independent distributors to buy their productions in blocks of 28 to 80 pictures including good, bad, indifferent, all and sundry with no chance of being able to review and choose; protecting first-run houses by preventing second-run houses from purchasing pictures until their first bloom is worn off. Block-booking has long been the target for attack, as this method enables a producer to produce and force upon the public ten worthless pictures along with a good one. The U.S.A. Supreme Court has passed strictures on the motion picture industrialists for their concentrations. Various attempts have been made to extend the anti-trust laws to cover them. When Senator Neely introduced his Bill to break this closed fist, he thundered: "For weeks the Motion Picture Trust opposition lobbyists have over-run Washington as the locusts over-ran Egypt in the days of the Pharaoh. If some of these men do not stop threatening members who are candidates for re-election this year and abandon their improper interference with the process of legislation, congressional investigation of the lobby will be requested immediately." Under their lobby pressure Neely found all his thunder burst into thin air, and actually when the Committee stage was reached, it was too late for any legislative action. Another of their methods is to try to buy out heads of reform organisations.

Amongst the "super colossals" are also oil, steel, rubber and sugar lobbies. The most complex is perhaps sugar, for the U.S.A. supply includes Cuba, Hawaii, Philippines, Puerto

Rico in addition to the home regions like Florida, Lousiana, and competitions and clash of interests make a kind of cross-word puzzle. The domestic industry glares with green eyes at the "outside" areas, whilst Cuba looks with hatred on Hawaii and that in turn flings stinging glances at Philippines and so on. Not even Florida and Lousiana see eye to eye on sugar! The interest of each seems to militate against that of the other and each feels compelled to maintain its own expensive lobby. With a view to creating some order out of this chaos, a quota system was sought to be effected through legislation. The outer islands felt themselves discriminated against under the allotment of a small quota of required sugar by all the main land sugar interests—canegrowers, producers, refiners, and sugar labour, all joining hands together. President Roosevelt while signing the Bill, made this bitter comment: "I am primarily concerned with the interests of the domestic beet and cane growers, and of the islands under the American flag, and close neighbours such as Cuba,—the sole difficulty relates to a little group of sea-board refiners who, unfortunately for many years were able to join forces with domestic producers in the maintenance of a continuing and powerful lobby in the national capital and elsewhere. This lobby has cost the stock-holders of these companies, millions of dollars which has been wholly unnecessary, so far as protection of the domestic beet and cane producer has been concerned. It is with regret, therefore, that I find that the Congress has accorded a *status quo* for this sea-board refining monopoly for two years and a half to come." And so Cuba whose climate and soil guarantees cheap and abundant sugar, is forced to restrict her production to a mere fraction of her capacity, while protected sugar expensively produced on the main land continues as a privileged

article of food.

The munition lobbies which have been described as the deadliest, were exposed by the Nye Committee investigation to show how much of the war was fought to augment the banking interests and how much to make the world safe for democracy! In fact, people like General Hugh Johnson have already told the world that it is the profit motive which wins the war. It is no wonder that the price of powder was kept high enough to yield a 458% dividend during World War 1. Several of the munition companies are heavily staffed with former Navy Officers to asphalt the road to Army and Navy Headquarters. The ship-builders reap the heaviest harvest. They were amongst those who spent a fortune to burst the Geneva Peace Conference. A shipping lobbyist revealed that his company alone had spent $1,40,000 to get the Jones White Act through under which subsidy for private shipping companies was increased. He further confessed that most of the Bill was drafted by the shipping lobbyist himself.

Side by side come the railroad interests. They are an old hand at the game having been one of the earliest in the field, since the first rail was laid. It is said to operate the largest lobby in Washington and the State capitals. Even in the days of depression they poured out money to promoting legislation favourable to themselves, some representing investers' interests, like the Security Owners Association and the Transport Association of America, purely railroad bodies but cloaked under the plan of promoting Life and Casualty Insurance Companies to reduce accidents and the like. This alliance of insurance companies and railroads is not new or surprising because of the large investments insurance companies make in railroad securities, while the latter in turn find the highly respected names of the for-

mer useful. Insurance Companies have sometimes been called the "Sacred Cows of America" (not that they are as meek and wistful as those gentle animals) for they continue to float in a kind of a hallowed atmosphere, although their ways are in no way different from that of the others, and instances are not wanting when a President has stepped out of the White House to slip into directorship of an Insurance Company. They operate a powerful lobby. Congressional inquiries prove them as well versed in all the rules of the game, from threatening legislators with loss of insurance fees, to the usual telegrams-telephones-flood campaign.

Except for labour, there is little worth mentioning in the way of a lobby machinery for the people's organisations or the more progressive groups, as they do not command strategic or monetary resources. A few left groups maintain what is known as a People's Lobby conducted by Benjamin Marsh.

The small Labour Lobby is further weakened by the divisions in the labour ranks. Its voice has not gained the necessary volume to make itself heard. The Wagner Act escaped complete mutilation, most miraculously, one may say. But not so the Wage-Hour Bill which brought on an inundation of 200 members of the Chambers into Washington and the Bill escaped with just its bare skin. Another front through which the labour interest is weakened is agriculture. The reactionary Associated Farmers carry on a ceaseless propaganda to make out that the labour demands are inimical to farm interests. The Employers' Lobby usually takes the line to convince the middle-class, that unemployment is mostly due to the idle habits of the workers, that those who exert and seek can always find work, and therefore social insurance measures are unnecessary and un-

desirable for they do not conform to the real American pattern and represent an infiltration of communism, etc. etc.

Even young idealist newcomers to Washington soon find it worth while to play ball with big interests, gradually getting caught in the web. They may not sell out for cash as for more careers, assured seats in elections, money for campaign funds, places on committees, and eventually chairmanships. These are prizes hard to resist or throw away easily.

Nor do the lobbies have to deal out their awards in cash. Their worth lies in the control of the middle class votes, publicity organs and lobbying resources. There are still no Federal Statutes against lobbying except for the one that requires registration of such practitioners before a few executive agencies. But the long red tape renders even that futile. A Bill requiring lobbyists to register and state the resources of their income was adopted by the Senate but in the meantime the lobby machinery got busy and let its wheels roll over neatly, pressing it into flat shape.

The continued existence of lobbies during war is more sinister than ever for it gives reactionary vested interests an opportunity to encroach on the rights of the working class, curtail its hard-won benefits, and generally strengthen its own position under the cry of national unity. Even the most undesirable measures come not wrapped up in dollar bills but the American Flag.

Monopoly means restriction of production. If this is wide-spread the entire economy begins to lose its balance. Moreover its inflexible traits such as rigidity of prices choking off demand and blocking machines from running, will make full employment impossible even through compensatory fiscal measures; for as fast as the government closed the dollar circuit, the monopolies could open gaps in it

again, resulting in uncontrolled inflation and the government would have only thrown its dollars into a bottomless pit. The Government should be in a position to give the people in the lowest bracket most protection. But President Roosevelt's suggestion for a reduction in the lower income taxes, maintaining fairly steep progressive taxes met with stern opposition from corporations and the press.

The rich are with us even as the poor. They sat in Washington helping direct the war programme, men high in the business world, presidents and directors of big corporations, who nominally (technically) resigned their business offices, to serve the war effort of the government, free of salaries. They are known as the dollar-a-year men. Although they resigned their former posts, they by no means severed themselves from the mighty monopoly concerns. Herbert Hoover's proposal that Roosevelt be given greater powers to institute "Nazi economies", for the diversion of the war is a pointer. It is all to the credit of Roosevelt and his Administration that they rejected the idea. But the Administration has not quite altered its old methods as to be able to totally resist the machinations of Big Business and their dollar-a-year-men. And unless the government hammers out new methods, the President's famous "seven-point programme" submitted to Congress in April 1942, will remain a mere declaration and the "equality of sacrifice" it envisages, only an empty verbal sop. The truth of this is amply borne out by the following figures given by the Talon Committee on production bottle-necks: 1,74,000 manufacturing establishments have so far been given no contracts—10,000 have prime or sub-contracts, of which 100 hold 83% of all contracts, among which 10 have almost half of the total! The report goes on to say: "The evidence shows that as a result of inadequate production plann-

ing and procurement, many communities throughout the nation are faced with economic deterioration and disintegration. Tens of thousands of small business firms are being forced to shut down." The majority of the manufacturers are denied their rightful opportunities to produce with the result tons of existing machinery stand idle, while the large corporations who have bagged the bulk of the contracts, are spending a good deal of time and striking out on larger instruments, setting up quantities of new machinery. It is all very crazy and very wasteful.

The one hopeful factor however has been the determined manner in which Trusts and monopolies are being sought out, hauled up and challenged by law. The question was forced very much to the fore due to the constant bottle-necks in war production with disastrous results. It is indeed a happy augury for the country that one of the men who earnestly and vigorously investigated into this, is himself the highest executive head, President Truman. He did a splendid job on this.

The American pattern continues to tend towards running to type as the war closed and the reconversion to peace time begins. The Army and Navy dominated by big business had been averse to any reasonably paced reconversion since peace was sighted, for having bagged the bulk of the war orders, they were apprehensive lest if the reconversion were to begin before the war was actually over and they were still filling in war orders, their smaller competitors would get ahead of them in the civilian market and steal the lead. So the resumption of civilian production was opposed even where it argued the case for the social desirability of giving smaller enterprise a chance and open the road back to meeting civilian needs, so ruthlessly slashed under the war emergency.

Equally pregnant with apprehension for the future is the Colmer Bill for the disposal of the surplus properties involving a $100 billion, close to one half the dollar cost of the war. Truly does Helen Fuller explain the full implication of this in the New Republic when she writes : "One man may soon be in a position to determine the shape of America's industrial future for years to come,—in aviation, shipping, electronics, rubber and gasoline industries, market for machine parts, tools, scrap, trucks, road equipment, medical and food supplies, location of air fields, metropolitan real estate. We have acquired so vast a quantity and variety of goods and properties during this war, that control over disposal of these government-owned surpluses can mean control of large parts of our economic system. If the man chosen to administer the disposal represented a single industrial group, the special favours in his power to grant might easily change the future course of whole industries."

Nor are the portents for a healthier change, either at home or abroad, auspicious at the moment. The elimination of Henry Wallace from the Vice-Presidentship spoke volumes for the U.S. future policy. The attitude of the big bosses towards his ideas is best expressed in the words of senator Byrd who epitomised their fears as follows when Roosevelt nominated Wallace as Secretary of Commerce : "Mr. Wallace is the leader of the most radical groups in America. It may well be that the action of the U.S. Senate on this appointment will have a decisive effect on the future of the free enterprise system." The same day Senator George introduced legislation to remove all lending functions from the jurisdiction of the Commerce Department and to make the Federal Loan Agency independent and remove the Commerce Secretary from the Board of

Directors of the Export and Import Bank and forbid the President from transferring any other lending agencies to the Commerce Department. The Senate Commerce Committee rejected Wallace's nomination and approved of Senator George's Bill! The opposition explained that it was not a question of a choice of personalities but of future policies. For Mr. Wallace proposed that the lending functions be used to help provide 60 million jobs in the post-war period. The unbending Americanism spoke through the New York Times columnist, Arthur Krock when it said to Mr. Wallace that he could learn—if he were so disposed—that no system (in this instance the capitalistic) "readily entrusts its defences to the harshest of its assailants and once the most vocal admirer of many phases which are its anti-thesis."

The manner in which Henry Wallace was pushed out of the nomination for Vice-Presidentship by the big bosses in the face of popular demand, and Truman thrust in upon a crowd who did not want him, would not have him, but had to helplessly lump him, unable to withstand the machinations of the party, is a veritable modern Yankee epic. Rude folks might even call it by the colloquial term of 'racket.' But for Tammany Hall it is all in the day's work. Moreover the Party bosses were far more keenly aware of their grave responsibility than the common people. For they knew only too well what they tried so carefully to hide from the public, that President Roosevelt was a very sick man and that the dice was more than loaded in favour of the Vice-President's chance of soon ascending the presidential seat. It would never do to take risks with one who to them seemed like a crank and put him in the White House. So it had to be someone safer and less disturbing to the American way. Not that Wallace is a socialist, or

even a radical. All he wanted was a little better deal to those millions of his countrymen who are given the dirty today. So the U.S. has today as President one who is essentially the common man of whom the world is composed, with no incalculable traits, no flair for personal rule or palace politics. He is first and last a 100% Party man. He has been built up by the Party and it will remain his prop. Such are the leaders that professional politicians favour to build up their vicarious careers. Equally scandalous is the action of the Senate in rejecting the nomination of Aubrey Williams as Rural Electrification Administrator on the same charge of "Radicalism". His only sin was in his own words that he believed " the wage-earners, the farmers and the little people should be an articulate part of our economic life." He stood for a fair deal for all and so he was dubbed "a nigger lover." He was a champion of the common man, so a danger to the upper interests.

CHAPTER V

MEET THE PEOPLE

To the world at large the American workman has always appeared as the play-boy of fortune, good wages, an untrammelled society, and a leap up the ladder, in other words, every shoe-black a prospective million-dollar-man. Conditions in the U.S. however, have been far from this rosy picture and labour has been more the Cinderella of Uncle Sam's fairy tale. In fact the history of labour presents a pretty dark chapter and the long night has by no means come to an end. The early labour conditions form as formidable an indictment of the American capitalist class as their present day persistent resistance to labour's rising power. In the early days the workers laboured for 13 to 14 hours a day in the most unhealthy surroundings, where no breeze ever penetrated, and where they inhaled so much dust as to get their lungs quite choked. The women worked even longer hours on lesser wages. As for children the effect on them was disastrous. The parents were forced because of their terribly low wages or by the threats of dismissal from the employer, to send their children to work. A report on child labour of those days says : "There are instances where parents who are capable of giving their children a trifling education, deprive the child of that by the employer's threats of dismissal of the whole family, and cases where such threats were carried out, are known." Housing conditions were indescribable. Health insurance companies refused to consider applications from the factories stating that such places were the graves of insu-

rance companies. Stray strikes and labour organisations raised their heads at this period but could not sustain themselves. The employers regarded a labour union as a "pernicious evil".

The early growth and nature of American trade unionism was shaped by the vast American natural resources and the rapidly expanding economy, as also by what seemed an endless stretch of land to the west. All these influences made for labour's mobility. Every factor afforded him scope to dream with confidence of being able to escape from the dark today into a bright tomorrow. The rising standard, the fluid social barriers made him harbour the belief that with a little effort and a little luck thrown in, the man on the assembly line today can be the director tomorrow. If luck deserted he could always take the trek west, for "there was always a west".

But the development of mass production struck a blow to this Arabian Night's romance. The westward frontier ended on the sea. The poor man's paradise turned into a mere dream. The earliest awakening amongst labour goes back to the days immediately following the civil war which was fought to push industry ahead and which necessarily received a tremendous forward spirit. Together with the rapid development of transport it brought in its wake a great resurgence in the labour ranks ; for this very prosperity accentuated the class disparity. While the huge profits bulged the pockets of the rich, the poor man's larder grew emptier. Labour became conscious for the first time of its own weakness and strength. It revolted, strikes raised their heads all over, but the big interests entrenched behind the Administration were equal to the task. The strikes were ruthlessly suppressed under the caption of "safeguarding the union". It was not until 1883, however,

that the first labour union on modern lines was formed and received legal recognition from the State. As long as the pall of slavery lay over this fair land, labour too was paralysed, as it were. For one section of labour cannot emancipate itself while the other is branded with slavery. Thus out of the death of slavery sprang the vigorous shoots of a new mass movement.

Moreover the establishment of a national industry and a national market, paved the way for a national labour organization. The first real body was the National Labour Union, the successor of the earlier rather sketchy National Trades Union, and followed later by the Knights of Labour and the Federation of Labour. The chief demands of labour at the time were : higher wages, shorter hours, and the restriction of immigration. The eight-hour day movement became very popular and spread all over the country bringing into existence the 8-Hour-Leagues. They attained such success that a considerable number of laws providing for this were passed in several States, but unfortunately due to the general weakness of labour and the absence of sufficient public awakening and popular support the laws were never really enforced. Labour's start was propitious. The Labour Congress warned the workers not to align themselves up with any of the political parties with their inevitable tie up with capitalistic interests. "The centre of the slave power no longer exists south of the Dixon-Line," it stated emphatically. "It has been transferred to Wall Street. Its nerve centre is to be found in our huge banks and false monetary system....." The movement showed an advanced social conscience and a realisation of capital's ramifications.

One unique feature of the National Labour Union was its recognition of the importance of absorbing all labour,

irrespective of colour or race. "Shall we make them our friends or shall capital be allowed to turn them as an engine against us.... ? The interests of the working men especially require that the formations of the labour unions be encouraged amongst the Negroes, principles of labour reform propagated and they be invited to co-operate in the general labour undertakings." Referring to the Negro problem, it stated that "in the successful solution of it we have an abiding interest." Thus in the 1869 Labour Congress, the Negro workers participated and special steps were initiated to incorporate them into the labour ranks. But as the first flash of the revolutionary wave set up by the civil war was beaten back by the re-actionary forces, the Negroes began to be isolated, pushed into a corner and ultimately thrown upon themselves. This was brought about partly by the conflict over the Republican Party, the Negro section adhering to it as its liberator and the workers generally looking upon it as the organ of exploiters—the capitalists.

The legalising of trade unions, however, by no means solved the problem for the struggling workers. Never before had the U.S. witnessed so many strikes as during this period. Numerous methods for disrupting the unions and breaking strikes were found. Big corporations sprang up whose sole business was to bring into the U.S., boot-legged aliens, from the more backward countries where labour was still unorganised and its social conscience dormant. Some of these companies were formed under the auspices of leading merchants, bankers, Senators, etc. They usually worked by securing the services of a government official as agent to certify the exact demand and supply. Among their patrons were the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of the Navy and other important personages from the ruling class. It is interesting to note that

one of its many objectives was to "equalise" the value of labour in Europe and America, which really meant lowering wages in the U.S. The immigration of unskilled workers shot up by 100% during this period. 100,000 came in the course of ten years. South-Eastern Europeans, Poles, Phillipinos, Syrians, Mexicans, and the like were hustled in to be used as cheap labour and as scabs. Steamship agents, immigration officials together with the employers formed a tight ring into which these helpless men were drawn to be flung into a wage war, each under-cutting the other, each unconscious of the havoc he was wrecking upon himself and upon others. Should any of them grow restless, make demands, in short become "troublesome" a case could always be trumped up against them under some purely technical immigration regulations.

The National Labour Union ended with the panic of 1873 with its wide-spread wage reductions and labour unrest and the tussle between employers and employees, the latter demanding a voice in working conditions and the former denying it. Thus terminated the auspicious epoch inaugurated by the civil war. There followed the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour, started as a secret organisation in 1869 mainly to prevent victimization of workers. This body realising the need for a single powerful unit to combat the increasingly growing strength of capital, proposed the organisation of the skilled and unskilled into a wide national union irrespective of the craft. It reached its peak of 7,00,000 members in 1886. The principles it enumerated reflected something of the socialist ideologies then prevalent in Europe. Its decline however was rapid and was accelerated by the growth of its off-shoot, the American Federation of Labour, which mainly originated from the need for a business-like body to undertake and enforce

collective bargaining with employers. It was a National Federation of craft unions. Its executive board, with the exception of its president, who was employed by the Federation, consisted of the heads of the national craft-unions affiliated to it. It was thus handicapped as regards action from the start ; it could take up no organisational activity independent of its affiliates, but could merely act in an advisory capacity. This was to prove an obstacle to the future development of American Trade Unionism, because it, in effect, ruled out organisation of new territories or new industries by the A.F. of L. as such, the job being left to the individual unions who naturally were jealous of their territory and, if they favoured development at all, favoured it only along craft lines. Under its charter system the A.F. of L. confers on a union exclusive rights of jurisdiction over the workers in a given trade. A vested interest is thus created which militates against change and invites abuse.

The establishment of the A.F. of L. marked the emergence of labour from the formative to the executive stage of trade unionism in the U.S.A. Samuel Gompers, an Englishman by birth, became its first president and its moving spirit. He fixed all his attention on building up a strong union as one constructs a concrete structure to the exclusion of all else, the living spirit, the ideology which animates an organisation. His aim was to win a few economic rights. Though a believer in strikes, he relied more on round-table negotiations, and put such emphasis on the agreements, that soon these assumed, instead of militant struggle, the key importance.

For years its chief opponent was the International Workers of the World, one of the off-shoots of the A.F. of L. (the I.W.W.) which tried to organise politically and by

industry, both anathema to the A.F. of L. It was a revolutionary body and included casual labour, lumber jackets, dock workers and the kind. It was responsible for some of the biggest strikes of the period, although its actual membership never went much beyond 60,000. Its revolutionary syndicalism served as a lever of resistance for the western migratory and immigrant, labour. It also helped to keep the issue of industrial unionism alive.

The I.W.W. however, went down under the assault of the criminal syndicalist laws of World War 1, when nearly a hundred of its leaders were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The comparatively slow growth of American Trade Unionism was partly due to the methods resorted to by the employers to crush it. League-scale armed violence was employed during labour disputes. The State Militia was employed by the State and the Federal army called in when the State asked for its help. In addition armed detectives employed by companies incited workers to violence to give an opening to the military to fire on the workers. The Carnegie Steel Strike of 1892 at Homestead proved a classic one, where these armed detectives were in evidence. The strike eventually broke after much shedding of blood, and the great philanthropist of princely donations was able to lean back in his chair and say "Life is worth living again".

Two years later came the Pullman Strike inspired by the American Railway Union under the leadership of the romantic and heroic personality of Eugene Debs. The Pullman employees struck for wage restoration and the railway employees refused to handle Pullman cars while its men were on strike. Much blood was spilt as usual. But even a more menacing factor was the appearance of the Federal Authority in its legislative garb. Central Govern-

ment's intervention in the States had become a common feature.

Wherever unions were formed and strikes did break out, court injunctions were taken which placed workers in contempt of court if they struck, picketed, helped strikers, in short did anything the judge directed them not to. Another stick to beat the workers with was the "Yellow Contract", in which applicants for a job had to sign an understanding not to join a union. One Federal Court actually fined the 200 members of a union the princely sum of $22,000 for the sole crime of forming themselves into a union! In this Railway strike, the legal and the military went forward hand in hand. The Federal Courts on the initiation of the Department of Justice issued a set of scandalous injunctions, which among others forbade the Railway Union and its leader Debs from interfering with the railway operations on the ground that this would affect U.S. mails. To enforce this, troops were sent in, and at the same time the Sherman Act was invoked. This was one of the most brazen-faced deeds in U.S. history. This Act passed in 1890 was intended as a progressive social measure to contend big industrial combinations that were proving so deadly in the U.S. economic life. And now the Administration had turned this very weapon upon the workers. Nor was this by any means the last occasion when such a perversion was practised. It became after this a common practice for the U.S. Government to use this injunction as a weapon of industrial warfare and back it up by the use of Federal troops, even without the consent of the State authorities. This constant usage of injunctions in labour disputes put it on a firm legal footing, and the wielding of the judiciary against labour became chiselled to a fine point.

Debs was arrested for disobeying the injunction, and

sent to prison for contempt of court. There he became converted to Socialism and he devoted the rest of his life to preaching this. Later as a presidential candidate he polled a million votes in 1912. John Passos describes him in the 42 Parallel as a "lover of mankind". Like Haywood, he was imprisoned for opposing America's participation in the war, and like him he was an old and broken man when released. He stood again for presidentship in 1920 while in prison, and again received nearly a million votes. Released in 1921 he died in 1926. Eugene Debs was one of the best-loved and most feared of all American revolutionaries, a steadfast adherent to his principles, and transparently honest.

The Pullman strike can be considered to have instituted a pattern for combating labour disputes which was to be followed in part for some time to come. This ranging, through the judiciary, of the might of the Government against labour on the side of the employers, conditioned labour's struggle for its rights for the next couple of decades. It is true legal restraints had been imposed on unions in earlier days. But for a generation or more trade unionists had been practically free of interference from the courts, and hostility on the part of the courts and its full exploitation by the Government which played so important a part in labour's struggle during the closing years of the nineteeth century and the early years of the twentieth, can be considered to date from the 1890's. This use of the judiciary against the workers continued until it was restricted by President Wilson in 1914 and when it became the exception rather than the rule under President Roosevelt in the thirties. Another innovation of this period was the application of the conspiracy charge to strikes irrespective of whether there was violence or not.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of the use of the legal weapon on the relations between capital and labour in the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century. It strengthened the employers' hands and encouraged them in their refusal to recognise unions and to accept collective bargaining. It limited and conditioned labour activity, but all the same it did not prevent strikes which, throughout this period, were great in number and often accompanied with violence. The employers often had the local judiciary and police power under their control, and made unscrupulous use of detective agency and espionage to incite the workers to violence.

In these circumstances, trade union agitators and strike leaders became tough too and developed a willingness to resort to violence. In civil war, both sides are armed and each must endeavour to take the offensive; and industrial disputes in America often closely resembled civil war. It must also be remembered that the anti-union tactics of the employers, especially black-listing, caused the American unions to organize and conduct disputes from outside the plant involved. Paid union organisers or agitators were employed by the unions and could be brought into the affected area. There was, therefore, always available the professional union organiser who had nothing to fear from victimization. Incidentally, employers would often try to buy these professionals, sometimes with success, and much of the racketeering which characterised American trade union organization circulated around them.

Attempts to exempt labour from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act failed. In fact, the legal position worsened, and a climax was reached when in 1908 the Supreme Court held the members of a union could be held financially responsible to the full amount of their individual property for losses

to business occasioned by an inter-State boycott. Describing this, Ernest Davies says in his "American Labour" : "This far-reaching decision was against the members of the Danbury local of the United Hatters of North America, who had struck against a hat-making concern in Danbury, Conn. Action was brought against one hundred and ninety-one members of the local union as violators of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and were upheld by the district court which fixed damages at $74,000, but the Circuit Court Appeals overruled this verdict. In 1908, however, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the Circuit Court decision and when the case was re-tried, $80,000 was assessed as damages which under the law had to be trebled, the total sum with costs amounting to $2,50,000. As the union was not incorporated, the defendants were individually liable for their share of the penalty, and in 1917 the district court ordered the sale of the homes of one hundred and forty workmen in Danbury and neighbouring towns in accordance with the judgment. The men had already paid $60,000, but the accumulated interest brought the total still remaining upto the original sum of $2,50,000. As it was, the matter was settled out of court, and the amount payable raised by subscription." Obviously it was essential for the law to be changed if union organisation was to continue.

After considerable struggle to get these anti-union practices nullified, the workers did succeed in getting laws enacted against the Yellow-dog contract only to have them over-ruled by the U.S. Supreme Court. Attempts in other directions met with even less success. These conditions prevailed almost upto the coming of the New Deal and although the U.S. public talks in a severely censorious tone of the dormitory system for working-girls in other countries like Japan, it seems unaware of its existence right in its very

midst. Theodore Dreiser describing the conditions at the Tubize Silk Co. said : "Girls work with mind-breaking regularity. They must register at the company's dormitory, where no male guest is allowed, the only diversion being whatever inane entertainment is provided by the company. They must eat at the company's cafeteria. Their 'morals' are most meticulously guarded by the company."

The first real break for labour came in 1914 as a reward for the support accorded by the A.F. of L. to Wilson's presidential campaign. It was in the form of the Clayton Act. It was really an Anti-Trust Act but its significant feature was the special exclusion of labour from its operation. The exemption also permitted strikes, peaceful picketing and, above all, prohibited injunctions in labour disputes and insisted on jury trial for contempt of court. So far workers arrested for disobeying injunctions were tried without jury.

In spite of heavy odds, the trade union movement struggled along, winning more social recognition and on occasions even public sympathy, as the antagonism towards Trusts increased. Its status was particularly enhanced during World War 1 when labour was able to get representation on various bodies connected with war effort. The close of the war saw a definite set-back again. The struggle between capital and labour during the post-war period ended in the weakening of the union and the gradual retreat of labour. American industry as capitalist power everywhere, used the Russian bogey to win public co-operation to beat down labour and prevent unionisation. It used every type of weapon from "instigated violence to co-ordinated victimisation."

Labour also was thwarted and terrorised by policing and spying. This was done through various agencies : pri-

vate detective system ; State police ; corporation-hired men commissioned by the Government. Some of these detective agencies were formed into regular corporations. A corporation-detective once declared that there was more money in industrial detective work than in crime-detection. These men functioned in the guise of employees or union men and union officers and tried to acquire considerable influence over labour. Some of them boasted privately that they owned whole unions. Some of these espionage agencies could supply also strike breakers. The corporations also equipped them with machine guns. Often the State police acted as the arm of a powerful corporation, using violence against labour, co-operating with the employers in frame-ups against union workers driving the arrested workers by force into making fake confessions, in order to implicate prominent union workers. It was not unusual for the corporations to take the law into their own hands and carry on through the 'tough' men who use regular gangster methods, assault workers, use the third degree, make men disappear and the like. When the National Labour Regulations Board investigated into Ford's, it found a regular system of espionage and terrorisation to intimidate and maltreat union workers. Thugs and gangsters were actually hired by the big motor bosses. Tear gas, shots, guns, black jacks, grenades, were found as part of the employer's equipment. Even the protective clauses in the Clayton Act proved of little avail against the legal interpretations of unsympathetic courts. Significant among them was a Supreme Court ruling upholding an injunction issued by a lower court preventing a national union from boycotting an employer.

The condition of work and workers was equally discouraging. A report on labour conditions says : "63% of

the working class children leave class at the age of 14 to earn in North California. One-fourth of the village schools are owned by the mills, one-fifth of the children do not go beyond the fifth grade and another one-fifth became absolutely illiterate. Violations of child labour regulations are galore in the South. The mills by hiring their own preachers, sheriffs, school teachers, run the towns, disenfranchise the people, because there the corporations do not even make these communities into villages, but keep them as mere collections of humans without a political status of any kind. Thus they are deprived of recording their vote on all local matters of public interest."

Not so long ago, the U.S. Coal Commission found that of 713 mining towns examined, only two had a decent water supply, sewage system, etc. In a property survey of Ford workers, supposedly the most handsomely treated workers in the world, whose minimum wage in the pre-minimum wage legislation days was $7 per day, it was found that each worker was made to pay $30 a month rent for a house which certainly did not deserve it, and 1.5 per day for food of inadequate nourishment. Half the houses did not have central heating. Reports everywhere showed wages were not adequate to enable a family to live decently.

Another unhappy feature was the use of convict labour. Prisoners from county jails in 13 States could be leased unrestrainedly to private employers, contractors, etc., for any grimy work, mining, coke-burning, and other tasks of similar nature, for nothing. "Actually the treatment meted out to them is an outrage," describes Theodore Dreiser, surveying this dark page of labour history. "A cage on wheels like those for circus wild animals, issued to transport them along country roads, furnishes them their only home. At night after working from daylight into dark, 18

of these men, still chained together are forced to sleep in bunks measuring only 8 ft. x 18 ft. If a man is more than a foot wide, he has to lie on his side. Drinking water and slop pails are crowded in with them, and men suffering from venereal diseases are not segregated. In winter dirty and poorly ventilated shanties are erected for these chain gangs which become alive with vermin. A convict's life here is spent constantly chained, in either single or double shackles, riveted on the ankle by a blacksmith, and occassionally with spikes a foot long. These must be worn even when sleeping. And all this misery inflicted for what great offence if any? Owing some one a few dollars or stealing a chicken! In some States smoking during working hours calls for as much flogging as the county physician and the Superintendent of the chain gang think the convict can stand." This sounds more like a piece of medieval history than a phase from the social history of the 20th century, in a streamlined country of the New World.

Besides convicts, an indeterminate number of apprentices employed for indefinite periods were also used to keep down wages by cheap supply of labour. Even when wages did go up or hours went down, the employers usually speeded up the process, thus getting in reality more work out of labour. Furthermore the periodical depressions were also utilized to press down the few advantages the workmen may have gained at a more advantageous moment.

Equally painful was the plight of agricultural labour in the South. Of the system of peonage there, this is what Prof. S. N. Hobbs of the Department of Rural Social Economics of the University of North Carolina, said at a Conference: "More than half of all the farms in the south to-day are operated by tenants mainly on the cropper system, the lowest type of tenure existing in the civilized

world and which is but one step removed from serfdom. And nearly two-thirds of these tenants are white." The ignorant tenant or worker, in contracting with a planter employer is made to sign away all sorts of privileges. But not being able to read or write much, he never realises that he is letting himself in for such things as : should the tenant become physically incapacitated or die, the owner has the right to seize and sell the property the tenant has any interest on. And as the tenant is always in debt, he is more or less bound to the planter for life. The North Carolina College for Agriculture stated that charges for credit by merchants ranged from 19% for cash advanced to 72% for supplies advanced. And although peonage is illegal in some States such as Texas, it still continues to be practised from social habit. Mr. Covington Hall of the Industrial Democrat writes : "In the sugar district, the condition of labour is that of out and out peonage and it is the same in the lumber industry." More than 60% of Southern Cotton Mill workers live in Company-owned houses, and the cotton village has its counter-part in other industries.

2

As the 20th century advanced, productivity was increased by various ways, chiefly through the introduction of more developed machinery, better organization of process, and speeding up of the work. In a sense the old methods were used is a different way. Thus while child labour and longer hours were dispensed with, work was realised in an intenser form in a shorter time. Proportionately more is got out of a worker working ten hours with a speedier machine than twelve hours under a slower process. This has meant greater drain on the worker's energy. But to a country which runs under the caption of "a free country

with unlimited possibilities for everybody to get on," these details don't appear impressive. The fact that millions of the workers become disabled annually through industrial accidents, gets easily overlooked. In 1944 alone 2½ million became completely disabled. Among the unemployed the figure is twice as high. A report on accidents of employment states : " Logically there exists a definite relation in the movements of employment and total accidents ; that the rate of accidents has a tendency to increase with increasing employments and to decline with declining employment. But the recent years show another and contrary phenomenon, that is, a decline in the employment is almost invariably accompanied by an increase in the rate of fatal accidents and *vice versa.* The only explanation is the intensity of work. During a depression, when profits decline, the employers try to counteract the loss by cutting expenses, reducing labour and wages, and to make up for this, increasing the intensity of work more thoroughly. Equally the worker, during the depression, conscious of his insecurity, is prepared for more risks and to ignore injuries, and therefore, lends himself more easily to greater damage.

Until 1934 labour organisation was confined to only the highly skilled trades. The unskilled had remained virtually unorganized. The open frontier by which black-legs could be transported from one State to the other, to fight organized labour, and repressive legislative measures, had served to keep the movement in check. The American Federation of Labour accepting the vagaries of the capitalistic system, had not offered any real challenge. Nor had it any definite political policy. By its policy of avowed co-operation with the employers it had lost its combative power.

It was, therefore, in no condition to meet the depression of 1929 which broke upon labour as almost the last

straw. The Federation had a bare three million membership out of the 39 million gainfully occupied, of whom 20 were industrial workers. With mass production and standardisation contracting his opportunity, it came home to the worker as never before, faced with this terrible depression, how very helpless he really was. That old belief in better things to come, began to thin out as months and years passed, and instead of passing like a bad dream, the depression only deepened. Its geographical universality was only matched by its functional universality. There was no national scheme for social security, no national unemployment provision. The workers were forced on to their earnings if they had any or on to charity. The hour was very black.

For the first time the very oppressiveness of this impact shook the old complacency and stimulated a search for a new approach. This to some extent the New Deal provided and also led to a new organisational expression of labour. It pushed on the trend towards the organising of the mass-producing industries along industrial lines.

By 1934 a realisation of the close inter-relationship of industries, had come setting the stage for industrial unions in place of craft unions. The prime actor in this new drama was John Lewis, the then President of the United Mine Workers Union and a vice-president of the Federation of Labour. He had vision enough to see that the strength of the miners was as much dependent on workers in allied industries such as steel, automobile, etc. and *vice versa*, which called for an imperative need for a drastic change in labour organisation. Under the New Deal, industries were crying out for organisation as never before. Here Lewis found himself up against his old friend and colleague, William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labour.

Lewis, the son of a Welsh miner, and Green, the son of an English miner, measured swords at the 1934 Federation Annual. Lewis and his industrial union group lost the day, marched out and almost over night built the Congress of Industrial Organisation (C.I.O.) a truly giant organisation. Its objects were :—

(1) To bring about the effective organisation of the working men and women of America, regardless of race, creed, colour, or nationality, and to unite them for common action into labour unions for their mutual aid and protection,

(2) To extend the benefits of collective bargaining and to secure for the workers means to establish peaceful relations with their employers, by forming labour unions capable of dealing with modern aggregate of industry and finance,

(3) To maintain determined adherence to obligations and responsibilities under collective bargaining and wage agreements,

(4) To secure legislation safeguarding the economic security and social welfare of the workers of America, to protect and extend our democratic institutions and cherished traditions of our democracy.

But the battle by no means ended. Lewis and Green continued to cross swords, littering labour's path with dust and din. The C. I. O. grew by leaps and bounds and was soon a power to be reckoned with. Perhaps its most spectacular romance and abiding achievements are in the automobile industry which had hitherto remained outside the pale of national labour like a Tibet in international affairs. This industry was made into a kind of an impregnable citadel with espionage and gunmen so that labour could

never storm. It is said that Chrysler and General Motors had converted their detective agencies into subsidiary corporations. Company unions were a common feature with spies as branch officers.

But taking courage into both hands, the C.I.O. marched on Detroit, and labour all over the country waited with bated breath. The wiseacres said "It can't be done." But they did it. It is the day of the turbine and the air wave, and the workmen fought the engagement like a modern machinised army. "We work eight hours a day for the boss, now we shall work eight hours a day for the Union," said the men. The first target was General Motors. When the company refused to negotiate with the United Automobile Workers, the workers started a *sit-down* strike. This became a wide-spread movement, for it forestalled black-legs and the removal of the plant to any other place. After 40 days' hard tussle, the company bent under the gigantic pressure and came to an agreement with the union. To-day C.I.O.'s United Automobile Workers' Union is the world's biggest single union with a membership of 10,95,538.

The country, however, grew uneasy over these sit-down strikes as they spread from company to company. At Chrysler's Lewis withdrew the men but on condition of negotiations to follow. It was victory all along the line. But there was yet the ancient China Wall, Ford, who had even challenged Government, that if it were disposed to bring pressure on him to permit unions in his kingdom, he would simply close down his work and throw a good few hundred thousand people on the streets. And so the battle began at River Rouge between Ford's industrial kingdom and the 91,000 men who worked for it. The strikers had their tanks; the scout cars toured the great perimeter of

River Rouge with unceasing vigilance. They had their fortifications, they set up barricades on wheels. Their cars stood end to end, to stop each road entrance. The strikers marched before the gates. They had their quarter-master corp, their women who prepared daily 27000 sandwiches for their men, hogs heads of coffee and vats of soups. Most important of all, they had the morale, a deep and intense faith in the objective for which they were fighting and risking so much, that in the blessed year of 1941 when America was said to have become the Arsenal of Democracy, workers might at least exercise the elementary right to organise themselves into a union. The women marched before the gates with gay banners alive with slogans like "Happy homes for our children". "The family will stick together 4,00,000 strong."

They closed in on the gates of the "Concentration Camp", as the workers nicknamed the plant. Day and night the greatest factory in the world was kept shut down. Ford who had sworn he would rather shut down than talk to a union, now did talk with a union and accept an agreement, without shutting down his motor-show. But it is not the ultimate victory yet, only success in the first round, and a grand one too.

The next round won was with Steel, a very ancient enemy since the 1892 Homestead Strike. Symbolically the headquarters was established at Homestead and the first shot of the battle was a manifesto from the workers, declaring their independence. "The Lords of Steel," the manifesto said in part, "have set up company unions. They have sent among us swarms of stool-pigeons. They have kept among us armies of company gunmen. Today we do solemnly declare our independence. We shall exercise our inalienable rights to organize into a great industrial union, banded to-

gether with all our fellow steel workers. In support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each our steadfast purposes, as union men, our honour and our very lives."

C.I.O. could now strut about with two feathers in its cap. Lewis (though a Republican) and the C.I.O. had supported Roosevelt in his second presidential campaign because of the New Deal and the promise it held out for the future. But the second term saw a rapid deterioration in the international situation with unhappy repercussions on the American home front. Already the wind was blowing warward and industries were getting geared to the slaughter programme. New Deal went on the decline. Labour standards everywhere faced attacks. Social services were already taking a second place. Disillusionment filled the C.I.O. ranks. Roosevelt's third term did not bring any fresh glow to the workers' heart. But the choice for the C.I.O. was limited, for if it turned Roosevelt out it would be only to put in the representative of corporations which meant that Big Business would once again be back at the White House with the danger of losing even the few hard-won beneficial measures. But the estrangement between Roosevelt and Lewis had grown so bitter, that at the following presidential election Lewis openly called on the C.I.O. to vote for Wilkie, an astounding recommendation, considering Wilkie's background. He further made this an issue of confidence in himself. This merely served to harass the already confused workers. But in the last analysis they realised it was a choice between Roosevelt and the remnants of a New Deal or back to the Hoover days. So many plumped for Roosevelt, especially the W.P.A. and others employed under the New Deal projects. Still the industrial vote for Roosevelt this term was considerably smaller. Lewis true to his challenge quit C.I.O. The loss of his dynamic

leadership and driving power deprived the C.I.O. of much of its colour and militancy.

Lewis's election stand necessarily drove him into the isolation camp with increasing hostility to the Administration. He seized the defence boom to urge the workers to improve their position. He challenged first the mine-owners and then the steel lords. The National Defence Mediation Board ruled against a closed shop, but Roosevelt superseding the Board got the parties to agree to arbitration which won a favourable award to labour. This was more a triumph for labour's support to war effort than to Lewis, and the one-time leader and moving spirit of the C.I.O. broke completely away from it. James A. Wechsilver in his portrait of John Lewis, also points out his alliance with the communists in the early days as being one of the factors contributing to his undoing. He it was, according to this biographer, who had strengthened the hands of the communists inside the Unions, raising them to power, negotiating successfully some of their first contracts while they in turn "out-foxed" him eventually.

But his energy and genius for leadership still remains. He is now concentrating on building up membership for his unions by organising those which have even the remotest connections with mining, for instance those using coal bye-products such as perfumes, farming and dairy. At the coal miners' union 1942 Convention, the constitution was amended to permit women and persons from non-mining industries to become members of the union. Lewis's aim is a mass organisation. The C.I.O. has already shrunk from the loss of the huge miners' union. The A.F. of L. was already weakened by the rise of C.I.O. Now both are losing their members to Lewis's union. He is the largest single factor, whichever side he joins would be on his own terms.

The A.F. of L. membership is said to be in the neighbourhood of 6,807,000 and that of the C.I.O. 5 million. But this group is becoming a political force through the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. which is shaping into a powerful weapon. So far it mainly concerned itself with the registration of voters to make a definite campaign drive to help Roosevelt, under the Chairmanship of Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This Committee has been trying to educate the public on politics and endeavour to "get out the voter to vote". Its success as one of the forces in elections is already recorded in cases like that of Martin Dies who was frightened into not running for re-election.

War emphasised once again the labour-employer co-operation and a large number of labour-management committees were set up in different industries and plants, but labour was always the weaker partner, and its power was more theoretical than real. For instance when labour pressed for a pooling of the auto-industry, very genuinely in the interest of war effort, the employers resisted, fearful of each losing his own little identity in the general mechanism to be set up. So finally the scheme reduced itself to an advisory board.

In fact all the fine bold schemes advocated for accelerating and intensifying production had been turned down. The war fever had, however, made the public very impatient of labour's restlessness and this finally culminated in the Smith Bill forbidding strikes and completely undermining the Wagner Act. But Pearl Harbour came just then and the Bill was put away. Since then there have been constant attacks from the anti-labour forces on labour, on the 40 hour week and other measures of the Wages and Hours Act. But President Roosevelt's personal intervention to pre-

vent a major labour unrest and ease the tension of a standing discontented industrial population, was mainly instrumental in holding back any violent anti-labour measures. Following Pearl Harbour, President Roosevelt called a big employer-labour conference where the closed shop issue was shelved and the following agreement was arrived at :— (*a*) No strikes for the duration, (*b*) settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, and (*c*) appointment by the President of a War Labour Board to handle all disputes. Out of this came the National War Labour Board, consisting of four representatives from each of the two parties and four from the public, with its jurisdiction over "Labour disputes which might interrupt work which contributes to the effective prosecution of the war." The Board has tried to evolve a compromise over the closed shop, known as "Union Maintenance". This requires that the union currently accepted for bargaining purposes shall so remain and that it shall be condition of employment that all present and future members of the recognised union must remain in good standing. Existing members are, however, given fifteen days before the agreement becomes effective, during which they can resign from the union if they so wish. In practice few have done so. The advantage of this compromise is that it not only protects the freedom of the individual employee to join or not to join the union with foreknowledge of the agreement, but it also gives him two weeks in which to choose whether or not to stay in the union and to be bound by the maintenance of membership provisions. By this decision, no worker is required to join a union as a condition of employment, and has a period of grace in which to withdraw from his union and yet keep his job. "Union Maintenance" is acceptable to labour as it assures retention of union membership, undiminished. The award of

union security is thus designed to protect a union from deterioration during the war effort in which the strike weapon is waived and full co-operation is given to the employer. It prevents encroachment by company-inspired or rival unions and so ends jurisdictional disputes, but only in industries or plants where collective bargaining is already the rule.

To prevent a flare-up of the old C.I.O.-A.F. of L. feud and check Lewis from getting too powerful, the President appointed a joint committee of both organisations, including Green and Murray, the presidents of the two organisations. But it made little for a united labour front for the two unions differed so widely on the whole principle of structure. Where mediation broke down, over a labour dispute, administration took over the plant, as when the army seized the North American aviation plant and the Navy took over the Kearny ship yard.

The "Little Steel Formula" inaugurated in October 1942 whereby any increase above the 15% which represented the increase in living costs then, was not based upon any relation between wages and cost of living. What was done was an attempt to freeze the wages at this dead-line irrespective of whether the living costs rose again or not. No doubt attempts were also afoot to control the prices, but costs did rise while so far as wages went, the Wages Stabilisation Order was brought in a year later under which no increase in wage rate was permitted above the 1942 level, "unless such increase is necessary to correct maladjustments or inequalities, to eliminate below standards of living, to aid an effective prosecution of war." This policy of eliminating below standards of living had become necessary as in the beginning of 1941, 1/6 of all factory workers received only 30 cents hourly whereas in 1943 only 1/10 re-

ceived less than 50 cents. The 40 cents minimum was raised to 50 and extended to all factories.

Fixing a ceiling to the wages was politically possible, mainly due to war sentiment. Moreover in practice there was scope for improvement as hours of work increased from 40 to 48 with extra shifts and higher overtime charges, extra wages for efficiency, urgency etc. But with the close of the war and the lifting of emergencies, these new devices will be eliminated. Hence the demand of labour for a rise from 50 to 70 cents an hour. "C. I. O. demands 20% rise in basic pay." Thus labour opened its reconversion drive to prevent a drastic shrinkage in the weekly pay roll with return to normal life, 10% to cover increased rise in living costs and 10% because of increased productivity. A recent innovation in the labour-employer relationship is the charter signed by the President of the Chamber of Commerce and the presidents of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. This charter stands by private enterprise and labour guarantees that it will let management manage, while management guarantees that it will continue collective bargaining. Though such an easy solution is rather an over-simplification, nevertheless the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining is a decided gain for U.S. labour.

Today the workers have no political affiliation with any party nor a national party of its own. By far and large it still follows the old tradition, "Reward friends and punish enemies". Ideologically American labour is still very far from the objective of socialist democracy of the English and many other European labour brand. The idealism and aims of American leaders still stop short of venturing into action that would entail changes in the present economic system and interference with the rights of private property and private enterprise. Until labour realises the utter

bankruptcy of the present system, its role in building an alternative social order will lack vigour and vision and the necessary effective drive. And for that American labour needs to replace its present "business" unionism which allows full pay for high positions, heavy salaries, preferment, labour barons and the like, by a genuine labour-controlled unionism.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

I

The biggest blot on the fair name of America is the problem of the Negro. This question has loomed larger than ever in the present setting of the world flux. It is usual to treat it only as a racial question since to all appearances, it seems so because of the strange anomally of the presence of a small and pronouncedly dark group in a completely white world. Added to this racial factor is the unfortunate historical background, and the two groups seem for ever caught in the vicious coils of the embittered memories of the enslaver and the enslaved. It is almost as though one can never forgive the other or overcome the psychological burden of the decades. To understand however the real significance of this problem it is necessary to get the historical background and the factors which led to the civil war and its revolutionary aftermath. The American revolution for independence carried within it the seeds of another revolution, for the North developed a society based upon free farming and free labour whereas the South built its economy upon chattel slavery. Harmonious relations could exist between the two only so long as the economic interests of the two did not conflict. In fact under the Democratic Party regime, an alliance prevailed between the plantation barons and the northern trade kings. But a clash between them was inevitable and the very core of the Republican Party on

which Lincoln came to power, was the determination to restrict slavery to its existing boundaries.

The sectional nature of the struggle with the broad geographical divisions has rather obscured its real character which in essence was a fight the northern rising bourgeoise waged against the southern landed interests, for dominance. For the further expansion of capitalism it was necessary to cripple the "slavocracy" which impeded its growth at every step by blocking the growth of the home market on which the success and prosperity of capitalism depended at this stage. The capitalist realised the termination of slavery would initiate the decline of the southern landed economy. The north parried for a while hoping to bring this about by constitutional means, but the open southern revolt left it no choice except military action.

There was much hesitation amongst the northerners before doing the most obvious thing, arming the negroes, because the psychological effect of this on the South would have been greater than its military value. Once the wheel was set into motion, however, forces almost beyond control forced the pace. The absorption of the negroes into the Union Army and the arming of slaves were the first landmarks of the resolution. Slaves freed in the South rushed spontaneously to arms and their first impulse was to destroy the outward symbol of their hated slavery. The streets rang with their cheers as they broke up slave pens and the auction blocks, and negro soldiers scoured the plantation cabins to set free their long enslaved people.

But the end of the war was only the beginning of the real struggle for negro emancipation which has been carried right into the present day. The war had let loose new ideas, new forces. The general masses were inevitably drawn into this gigantic struggle. As an integral part of this great

war rose the working class with its demand to end wage slavery along with chattel slavery. The slogan of the day was "Down with all slavery" for the more conscious elements of labour had instinctively realised the identity of their common interests and wished to draw their entire class into this vortex, thereby utilising the latent energy for wider and more dynamic political action.

The demands for Negro suffrage and protection of their civil rights, were already projecting themselves as the principal issues. To complete and round off the revolutionary process of transforming the Southern society and strengthening the ramparts of American democracy, land had to be confiscated and distributed to the freed men. The Confiscation Act of 1862 is of immense historical significance for it placed a most dynamic weapon into Lincoln's hands, authorising him to "cause the seizure of all the estates, property, money, stocks, credit and effects of all military and civil officers of the Confederacy and after 60 days' notice, to confiscate the property of all engaged in armed rebellion against the U.S." This completely expressed the spirit of the times. But it was never fully given effect to. Most regrettable of all, the freed men were made no outright grants of land. They were mostly put to varying forms of wage labour, share tenancy and even forced labour, for they were mainly allotted to contractors who still continued to regard them practically as slaves for exploitation. Even in the few cases where lands from deserted plantations were given, it was only to raise cotton for the Government. Even when General Sherman wanted the freed men to take possession of the Sea Islands, the northern powers would not accept this as their spring-board for action. Instead a Board was set up to deal with the confiscation and abandoned land, which merely leased pieces left over after

leasing the largest properties to contractors. Once again the negro was expected to become a labourer, working ten hours a day for ten dollars a month. But negroes continued to demand land with the army ready to back them, for in the absence of any industries to absorb them, they were inevitably being propelled towards land.

This natural demand the counter-revolutionary forces replied with the Black Codes, to gain ascendency once more. Under these the negroes could not rent lands or houses except in cities under the control of the corporate authorities; every negro had to show a license from police of a written labour contract to prove employment, or he would be treated as a vagrant; any negro quitting a job was liable to arrest; anyone "enticing" a negro from employment, or employing a "deserter" from a contract or aiding him in any way was liable to prosecution. No negro could carry or keep arms. The new masters talked of turning negroes into "trustworthy" labourers.

But the negroes were in no mood to accept this position. Where they were already in possession of land as in the Sea Island, they resisted dispossession even single handed by resorting to any weapons they could lay hands on. To this day these Islands have the largest percentage of land-owning negroes.

For decades the struggle for land and franchise swept like a tornado against the powerful current trying to push the negroes back upon the plantations under labour contracts, as tenants and share croppers. A Negro Convention which met in 1865 under the chairmanship of a negro barber represented their first concerted political action. Their demands covered the whole of rights, from suffrage to bearing arms, which testifies to their awareness of the issues of the new epoch, and that they were by no means the dumb

inert mass which some made them out to be.

In the meantime the industrialists were becoming the dominant force in the country, scoring all along the line in the strong protectionist tariff measures; the new financial legislation to aid the massing of capital in the hands of bankers; in the land grants by Congress running to millions of acres to the rail roads; in the Homestead Law of 1864 permitting import of workers under contract (similar to the indenture of the colonial days) to be used as cheap labour and keep wages down in the face of the insistent demand of the rising labour force for higher payments. The railroads were extending internal markets almost overnight and drawing an increasing farm population within the orbit of world commerce. In this decade the railroad mileage doubled, production trebled, commercial farming leaped, all of which proves that the northern industrialist expansion was inseparable from the abolition of slavery in the South. Under the impact of these fast moving events, legislation was enacted to grant full citizenship rights to the negroes, which was followed by the various Reconstruction Acts to provide the legal frame-work within which the necessary transformation could take place. Loyal citizens' militia and rifle clubs, mostly of negroes, were formed to fight the terrorism of reaction. Women were organized into auxiliaries. The Union Leagues were formed to prepare the masses for political action.

The big registration of negroes as voters was solid enough proof of the awakening among them and the efficiency of their organisations. Their large majorities in most of the States and almost half in some, also revealed the class and racial content of the South.

The constitutional conventions elected by the new voters, were the first really representative bodies of the people to

meet on the southern soil. They were also the first assemblies in which the negroes sat and participated as the representatives of the people, most of them predominantly agrarian and representing the poorest sections. These voices of the newly awakened, proceeded to write State Constitutions which promised to revolutionise southern life. They provided for suffrage and equal civil rights for negroes. Their revulsion of the old was so great, that they even expunged from the vocabulary such terms as Nigger, Yankee, etc. And although no radical land reform was proposed the cry for land and partition of large estates repeatedly was echoed.

But it was one thing winning the rights on paper, and quite another realising them in action. Although in majority, the Negroes could not gain a dominant position in any State, due to their past handicaps, in spite of it they did succeed in winning a few offices as Lieutenant Governors, Speakers, Secretaries of State etc. Some of those who rose to these positions were former slaves. They entered every field to push on the fight for their rights. They became active in County and Municipal affairs. Taxation was one of the leading issues. Having failed to secure an outright partition of the larger estates, they pressed for higher taxes for the larger land-owners.

The rise of Negro Labour Unions showed the remarkbly energising effect of the democratic revolution, and also marked the beginning of an independent working class movement in the South, although the workers there were primarily concerned with the problems of agricultural labour and the broader human and civic rights. In 1869, a Negro Workers' Convention assembled.

The strategy of counter-revolution in the South was to alienate the negroes from the Republican leadership and

bring them once again under the White Confederate dominance. When this failed, it came out more openly and virulently and terrorism against the negroes began. Bands like the Ku Klux Klan and similar terrorist organisations were formed by groups from the former Confederate army. The K.K.K. was headed by a Grand Wizard and each State had a Grand Dragon, each county a Grand Giant, each locality a Grand Cyclops! Now came the regime of men known as "Carpet Baggers", that is those soldiers and officers from the Union Army, who continued to remain in the South after demobilisation, some genuinely helping in the reconstruction, others mere adventurers, out to make hay while the sun shone by buying up land cheap and exploiting the negro population.

Discontent against the Republican regime was growing in the country, due to the apprehension caused by the rising power of the industrial oligarchies. The generous land grants to railroad companies and aids to financiers, the growing dominance of manufacturers and bankers at Washington, slowly strengthened the opposition forces, mainly labour, small property holders and farmers, the last mostly incensed by high freight rates. In fact industrialisation of the South was stunted by the discriminating freight-rate structure.

The Republicans at the height of their power had got the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted, prohibiting States from denying the right of suffrage to any citizen on grounds of race, colour or previous condition of servitude. They had also enacted some drastic measures against the terrorist bodies and measures for protecting negro civil rights. But these unfortunately were never enforced. A section of the Republicans were already seeking the appeasement path for they said, "social peace was need-

ed to obtain the full fruits of the new plantation commercial production and internal market." The Amnesty Act brought matters to a head and the Party split, dividing the industrial oligarchy from the democratic elements representing the lower middle classes and the common people in town and country. This in turn made for negro isolation, for the new leadership came only from the old pro-slavery group. Terror grew rampant. The election campaign turned into wholesale massacres, for the negro rallies and meetings were attacked and machine-gunned to keep negroes from going to the polls.

The Reconstruction period is a proud and bright one for America. It was the continuation of the civil war, a change over from armed conflict to peaceful consolidation. In a broad historical sense, Reconstruction achieved one important thing, prevented the lapse back to actual slavery, by placing the national leadership into the hands of its opponents, and by seeking to extend more democratic conditions into the South. Rarely in history did an enslaved people get so quickly democratic-minded and that is why this emancipation-revolution has a world importance far beyond its local and national character. This revolutionary force however began to gradually recede and yield up to reaction, position after position. By 1902 every State had written "Home Rule," as the swing over to reaction was termed, into the constitution. The major cause of the defeat may be mainly put at the failure to solve the land question by attacking and breaking up the large estates, the citadels of reaction which carry to this day the old evil germs and vitiate American economy by its "Semi-feudal" character. In the social setting, we see in this the inevitable alliance between the new industrial kings and the old land monarchs, against the rising democratic forces of the masses, and it is

this which gives the clue to the present problems of the South particularly that of the Negro in America.

The negroes in America are a kindly simple folk on whom oppression and suffering have left an indelible mark. The wistfulness in their eyes, the pathos in their voice are eloquent of a lacerated soul, which has not as yet been able to find freedom from constant humiliation. Their 60 years' progress since emancipation has few parallels. From slavery and illiteracy, today, they show over 90% literates and 80% professional jobs. These they have achieved by overcoming gigantic hurdles, for the rights and opportunities though granted in principle by constitution, are in practice still denied to them.

The psychological complexes and an inferior status cause the moral undermining that denial of responsibility and opportunity produces; these together with the poor economic role, hold the key to the Negro Problem. Negro writers like Richard Wright and Langston Hughes have portrayed this colossal tragedy with a masterly hand. Almost the first thing a child born of coloured parents realises is the sin of colour. It is a worse crime than being the child of a gangster or a murderer. The finger of discrimination is forever pointed at him. He is born an inferior, of the blood of the slave. Not for him the wide sunny avenues of his glorious country. There are places he may not enter, privileges he may not claim, rights he may not enjoy, all because of his skin. Its hideousness makes life a nightmarish fantasy. It is unbelievable that in a scientifically conscious world, such madness should rule. The text books and films, while they glorify the white man's past and present achievements, depict the negro as merely incidental and often disparagingly and rarely in any dominant national role. Those who come into close con-

tact with this problem in the U.S. soon realise that it is not altogether determined by colour, for the negro has become so obviously diluted that it would be impossible to find any that is 100% indigenous negro and a few could even pass for Aryans, so very fair and light are they. In I.Q. tests the negro children equal any other, some with very high I.Q. like 200. Of course the old ideas of racial purity, superiority and inferiority have been thoroughly exploded by scientific experts as a result of investigation and tests, but mankind finds it convenient to cling to these erroneous notions for certain ignoble ends. Suppression of truth can be as devastating as untruth. Suppression and distortion of real Negro History is a crime perpetrated not only on the coloured people but humanity at large for it is a vital part of the social whole. They may be a minority, but they are a "Colourful" minority whose hopes and despairs, whose dreams and achievements, songs and dances, stories and humour, dignity and patience have gone into a grand bouquet, that adorns the bowl that is America. To miss or ignore it is like missing a whole colour in the spectrum or a line in a pattern. So movingly does Prof. Fransier lift the hazy veil in his book on "The Negro Family in the U.S." Probably never before in history has a people been so completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes brought to America. Other conquered races have continued to worship their household gods within the intimate circle of their kinsmen. But American slavery destroyed household gods and dissolved the clouds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood. Old men and women might have brooded over memories of their African homeland but they could not change the world about them. Through force of circumstances they had to acquire a new language, adopt new habits, new methods

of labour, and take over however imperfectly, the folk ways of the American environment. Their children who knew only the American environment, soon forgot the few memories that had been passed on to them and developed motivations and modes of behaviour of the New World. Of the habits and customs, hopes and fears that had characterised the life of their forefathers in Africa, nothing remains. Hence when a young Negro poet asks "What is Africa to me" and answers with true poetic license that the African heritage surges upon him, "In an old remembered way", we hear not the voice of the past but of a new race consciousness rising out of a world of conflict and frustration, and traditions that have become refined and hallowed as they have been transmitted from generation to generation.

Negroes were not employed in the Federal Government Departments at Washington except as junior clerks and odd jobbers, although hundreds of negroes passed the civil service examinations, until the advent of the New Deal made a slight dent in that old wall. But the most ordinary civil rights are still denied to them even in the nation's capital. They are not allowed inside any of the theatres except the Jimcrow ones in their own locality. When the picture, Abraham Lincoln, was being shown in Washington, hundreds of eager Negroes hung outside, having been refused entrance and the right of seeing the picture of a man who had died fighting for this very right. They are not admitted into hotels and restaurants. So much for the democratic lead of America's No. 1 City.

The most sensational incident was the barring of Marion Anderson, the world famous Negro Contralto, from singing in Constitution Hall and its resounding echo in Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation from the membership of the Daughters of the Revolution, who had refused the Hall, a fine gesture

from the First Lady, as a protest against this indignity. A coloured country health nurse was charged 50 cents for a 10 cent glass of milk and the bar-man defended himself on the plea that the extra price was on account of colour and that negroes have been charged as much as $1.5 for a glass! The store was fined $250.

Education is one of the most important agencies which makes for democracy, for the initiation and development of social attitudes begin with the young. Therefore the note on which education lays the emphasis is of supreme significance. It creates the atmosphere in which the youth of today and the citizen of tomorrow is conditioned. And it is just here that one is so horrified to find the roots of prejudice deep. Instead of the human approach to social relationship one finds the medieval racial ones. This is what the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People says on race inequalities in education :"In 19 Southern and Northern border States of America, some 9 million negroes face an almost complete wall in their efforts to get a fair share of the public tax monies expended for education. From the time they are born, they are forced to play the ugly ducklings under an educational system that places bars against them solely on the basis of their colour. Whether funds for education are appropriated by Federal, State, county, municipal or government they are deliberately denied any opportunity of sharing equally with their white fellow citizens the fruits of American education." There was not a single new school built in Harlem, the negro quarter of New York between 1918 and 1937. In a community where black and white children, future citizens of the country, are separated in the public schools, democracy does not function as a way of life. There is discrimination in the allocation of funds. This results in lowering the en-

tire standard of life, with all its attendant physical and moral deterioration. Many institutions, including State ones, shut their doors to negroes. In 16 States, there is not a single State-supported institution where a negro student may pursue graduate or professional courses, although every one of them provides for White students. And although theoretically negro students have the right to attend the same institutions, in practice they are debarred. Numerous cases have been fought out in court on this question. There are instances where the same building is used for both but they are divided into separate divisions. The terms in negro schools are shorter, the salaries less. Nineteen States have Jimcrow institution. In 12 States segregation is forbidden, expressly. In 14 the law is silent, and silence in such cases is taken as supporting the majority view.

Dr. Gallaghar, President of Talladega College, says in his book, "American Caste and the Negro College" : "If the weight of the caste is ever to be eased so that the negro may draw a free breath and come into his birth-right as an American citizen and particularly if the Negro College is to play an active, though subsidiary, part in transforming and opening broad avenues of opportunity to all people, critical intelligence and human understanding must be brought to bear upon the present institutions of higher learning for negroes. Separate institutions are undesirable for a school or college must not be treated as a separate unit but as a related institution in the field of education and as an important force in the social process. The institution should bear a functional relation to community life and general social problems."

Here is what Dr. Johnson of Howard University says : "The separate schools is a symbol of the inferior social, economic, and political status of the coloured people in

American life in general." In most of the States where there are separate schools for negroes, the strength in the schools for white children is below the national average, yet Negro schools are only about half as well supported as white schools. All statistics for length of school term, average attendance, educational qualifications of teachers, type of school buildings, and other factors indicate that a wasteful neglect is characteristic of the treatment of negro school children in most of the areas where they are required to attend separate schools.

Here is a typical instance. In 1938 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Missouri must either admit Lloyd Gaines, a negro, to the University Law School, or provide equal educational facilities. The court made a similar ruling in the case of another negro applicant to the School of Journalism in 1940. The press admitted that time had moved under their feet and evasion was impossible and therefore a skeleton-graduate course would have to be run. So the smallest school in journalism now functions in St. Louis, set up by the Lincoln University under the Supreme Court mandate, consisting of seven students, 3 full time and one part time instructors, one librarian, housed in a building that could accommodate six to seven hundred students! To increase the roll by admitting whites would be contrary to constitutional and statutory provisions.

The report of the Advisory Committee of Education says in this connection : "This arrangement is in line with the predication of social distinctions that lead to the separation of the white and the negro, with the determined purpose of the super-ordination of the former and the sub-ordination of the latter, with all the resultant prevailing maladjustments." Truman Gibson, Negro Civilian Aid to the War Secretary, reporting on negroes, said that for every

17% negro illiterates in the army, there were only 4% whites, and for every 75% negro semi-illiterates there were only 16% whites.

There is now a conscious drive against school books on history which give a prejudicial picture of the negro in American life, fail to assign to him his proper role in society, often pervert historical facts to conform to a prejudiced approach, totally ignore or minimise his gifts of heart and head.

For even the most prejudiced white man cannot deny the unique and rich contribution of the negro to American culture. Very precious and valuable has been the negro contribution to all fields of art and literature. Oppressed people, even more than others, seek freedom of the mind and spirit, and this urge finds its natural outlet in art forms. It is this which so often gives an unusual quality to the art of the minorities, and endows it with a special social significance. The negro is an instance of the creative spirit establishing mastery over the inherent difficulties of art expression in an atmosphere of cultural stigma. The content of Negro art is fixed by the social dynamics of the community, but in a broad national and international setting, not a crude racialism. It is basically both humanitarian as well as scientific. When it speaks for economic equality and social justice, it speaks for the peoples of the world. One wing of this renaissance got caught up in the impish Jazz and Congo and the other diverted into the wistful mellow tone of the Spirituals. The negro's most outstanding genius is in his divine gift of song. The negro music was born out of the boundless loneliness of his soul, seeking solace in the outpouring of his heart in melody. Its piercing pathos, its solemn simplicity, its gay swing, are indigenous to the negro and a part of him. The negroes rank today

amongst some of the most noted "Music Masters" of the world. What the whole world dances to as American music from Paris to Cairo, is the negro creation, jazz, rag, blues and swing. The rhythm of the dances trace once more the echo of the African beats. It is one of America's richest heritage. The negro Spirituals are unequalled in their delicate beauty. There are few finer musical treats than their church music. Nor must the fact be overlooked that many negro composers have ventured into the broader fields of musical endeavour, including operatic music.

And few forces have so successfully cut across the rigid race barriers as music. Those who have witnessed the enormous crowds of hundreds of thousands and more, rise spontaneously to honour Paul Robeson or cheer lustily Marion Anderson, can perhaps gauge the wonder of this miracle. For when Paul Robeson sings he becomes something more than a singer. He transcends all human limitations and becomes the disembodied melody, which knows neither colour nor race. He interprets the ageless, deathless spirit of his lost land of Africa, his priceless heritage, before which even the hooded order of bigotry and hate spontaneously retreat. No less valuable is the Negros' contribution to science. The relics of African civilization, especially architecture and carvings, point to scientific knowledge. Some archeologists hold to the belief that the Africans discovered the art of iron working and that the oldest piece of wrought iron in the world was found in Ethiopia. Be that as it may, down through the decades there have been noted negro scientists, astronomers, mathematicians, biologists, zoologists, chemists, physicians, engineers, architects, many of whom have received international recognition. There is the legendary George Washington Carver

who performs feats almost like the proverbial hat-trick and with very few facilities. He has produced 300 new articles out of the peanut, including milk, butter-milk, hair oil, paper, plastics, ink etc. ; 118 from sweet potato including syrup, alcohol, fuel, molasses, vinegar, etc. ; from cotton, asphalt and a host of equally strange objects. He is now attracting attention by his successful experiment with infantile paralysis. Some of the most spectacular negro successes have been in the ring and Joe Louis, Henry Armstrong, John Lews are today household names. Joe Louis draws as large an audience as Roosevelt did ; Jesse Owens the holder of Berlin Olympics Championship even made the tightly shut Nazi lips open unawares. To mention only a few who have won distinction : In sociology, Dr. Johnson Frazir Reed ; Education, Dr. Caliver, Dr. Thompson, Dr. Bon ; History, Dr. Woodson, Dr. Dubois, Dr. Wesly ; Economics, Dr. Harris, Dr. Weaver ; Political Science, Dr. Bunche ; Social Anthropology, Alhson Davies ; Physical Anthropology, Dansberry : Social work, Forrister Washington ; Philosophy, Dr. Locke ; Artists, Paul Robeson, Marion Anderson, Dorothy Maynar some of whom earn around 1,00,000 a year ; Arthur Lesley who won the nation's first Ph. D. in American Culture.

The negro's creative genius has found expression in all literary forms and his voice has been gaining more assured attention, than mere patronising sympathy. It throbs with the rich pulsating emotion of a people whose bodies are enchained but whose spirits sweep the skies.

The negro literary period which extends, as perhaps few know, well over a century and a half, is naturally divided into two periods, the *pre* and *post* emancipation period. In the former the straining against the bonds shaped the mood and form. In the latter, the increasingly insistent

demand for the rights and responsibilities, the natural requisites for a man of dignity and self-respect. Nor was printed word the only channel of expression. Even more vivid and powerful were the folklore and folk songs they wove as their weary backs bent low on tobacco and cotton fields in "slave rows" and dark cabins, their weariness and agony flowing out into rich imagery and moving rhythm, comforting their lacerated souls with the promise of a "Little Cabin in the Sky", where they would not have to toil any more.

It is interesting to note that the first negro poet arose even while slaves were still being imported, the second to obtain recognition being a woman. Albery Whitman and Paul Dunbar are often described as the first to "Feel the negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically", for they like James Weldon Johnson later, brought literature and life closer together, making the pen the true barometer of the negro moods and emotions. Today, negro poets like Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Hayden and Davies who are building up the new Poetry Movement, take their place amongst the poets of the world. Equally distinguishing are the negro novelists too numerous to mention but amongst whom Miss Fauset, Nella Larson, Rudolph Fisher, Richard Wright, Langston Hughes are representative.

Their poets sing movingly of things vital to their life and are an integral part of themselves like the beauty of dark things. Writes Langston Hughes: "The night is beautiful, so the faces of my people."

"She does not know her beauty; she thinks her brown body has no glory. If she could dance naked under palm trees and her image in the river she would know", sings Waring Cuney.

Yet even such popular figures are not spared pin-pricks

and insults. Paul Robeson who draws the homage of mammoth audiences, was not permitted to even enter a "High Class" hotel when he wished to consult his white lawyer who happened to be resident there.

For instance in the discovery of the North Pole Expedition Matt Hanson accompanied Admiral Peary and, while the latter received all honours, the former none except an unostentatious pension.

The political and civil equality of all citizens without regard to the race, colour or previous condition of servitude as laid down in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, has been violently contested all along by the former slave States. The Ku Klux Klan has done it by bloodshed and murder, others less nefariously by intimidation and fraud. In twelve states the right of vote is "legally" denied to the negro, in flagrant violation of the U. S. constitution. In several of the other States, the franchise is restricted by statutes and often the negro fails to qualify by reason of his poverty where eligibility rests on the Poll Tax, and at other times by his political ineptitude. Although the Supreme Court unanimously outlawed all such restrictive measures, the decision has not in practice affected the negro status. Even where restrictions are removed, terrorism and murder keep the negroes off the Polls. The K.K.K. men actually parade through the streets in their white robes and hoods, a noose in the hand, hang effigies of negroes, burn crosses, to show what could happen to the negroes if they exercised their votes. It is heartening, however, to find increasing numbers of negroes facing the masks and their hocus-pocus, and braving attacks and murder to stand by their franchise rights. The negroes have been showing greater and greater militancy in the struggle against discrimination and for the assertion of their rights.

The Dies Committee which has appropriated millions to hunt out and expose "un-American" activities, and has busied itself seeing red everywhere, in the eyes of school teachers, on the lips of factory workers, has not even touched on this glaring un-Americanism ; and although the average annual lynchings have dwindled from 200 to the neighbourhood of eight or ten, their harrowing shadow lies across the fair breast of this magnificent country. Most sinister is the fact that lynchings previously announced are carried out without any impediment from the authorities or the public. If the lynchings have grown less it is more because of stronger public opinion against it and greater resistance from the negroes than State action. The other most damaging fact is that sometimes all the victims of lynching for the year are found to have been filched from the custody of officers of the law. In 1939, the State Attorney General of Alabama actually confessed to an innocent man having been lynched with the knowledge of the Sheriff who did nothing. The Governor merely passed over it remarking, "It looks like a lot of carelessness here by somebody." Equally regrettable is the consistent opposition to the Anti-Lynching Bill in the Congress. Great alarms are sounded over it as a "threat to American institutions" which is an outrageous distortion of Americanism. It is fraught with grave implications for if the rights of 13 million citizens may be nullified, either by law, custom or terrorism then surely the same can be done with other unpopular social groups like labour or religious minorities simply at the behest of a few prejudiced, ignorant people. It takes great strength to adhere to democracy more than to almost any other form of Government, for democracy demands that courageous allegiance to principles without which a country cannot establish its moral integrity before the world. One

may shut one's eyes and ears, but one cannot shut one's mind when eager eligible students are refused admission into Universities because of their colour, when a court's authoritative demand to admit them is circumvented by packing the unwanted students off to other States offering to pay their fees, grossly cheating constitutional and moral law alike. When a young man is seized and prosecuted for telephoning to a white girl to make a date, when negroes acquitted in a suit brought by a white are shot or lynched or innocent men are seized, hung or roasted without the intervention of law, and such open murderers are acquitted on grounds of grave provocation, indeed one trembles for democracy.

New forces are now at work, attempts are afoot to remove the obnoxious poll-tax. The measure was defeated in Alabama and Georgia. Later Georgia reversed the decision and scrapped the tax. This seems to have been wrought almost at the point of a political gun. The Southern Electoral Reform League gave an ultimatum to Georgia's Governor, that either the Tax was repealed or the League would go ahead with the process of unseating ten Georgian Congressmen. This League is continuing its campaign to prove that the election of 69 Representatives from the remaining 7 poll-tax States, is unconstitutional. For obviously the denial of franchise on any other ground except crime and rebellion, is a clear violation of the 14th Amendment. As Virginia Supreme Court clearly interpreted in 1939 that the poll-tax is primarily meant not to raise revenues but restrict franchise, the Reforms League has undoubtedly a strong case.

But its task is not to be so easily accomplished. For instance Georgia's negroes have not been permitted to vote in the primaries, although the Supreme Court ruled in a

Taxas case last year, that negroes have the right. Five thousand of Atlanta's registered voters were equally frusttrated in their attempt. The fear of a similar court ruling has made the Democratic Executive simply drop the word "Democratic" from its title and then announce that negroes cannot vote in the primaries. An interesting instance was the banning of the picture "Brewsters Millions" by the Memphis Board of censors on the ground, "Negro Comedian, Eddie Anderson has an important role and too familiar a way with him!"

At birth and at each age level the expectation of life of the negro is markedly less than that of the white person. In 1931, the death rate was 82% higher and in the city it was double that. The negro has less chance of surviving at child birth, the maternal death rate being double that of the white women, the still births also double, the deaths within the first year also being twice as high.

The greatest scourge amongst negroes is tuberculosis. The death rate is thrice as high as that of the whites. All this proves the alarming difference in health among racial groups which is easily traceable to environmental factors, although the Negro susceptibility is often attributed to his inferiority. Among the environmental factors that influence the health of any group, the economic status comes first. The income of the Negro even in prosperous times is below the national average in many places, particularly in the South it is even below subsistence level. Charles Johnson has defined the negro's status as marginal and when living costs rise, the margin gets automatically wiped out.

The negro's health is damaged in a variety of ways: by the miserable dingy and insanitary cabins in the rural areas; the congested dark rat-ridden slums in the cities to which he is confined by the colour line. Upton Sinclair

has related the story of a little boy eaten by rats while he slept. In proportion to what falls to his lot, the negro pays a higher rent.

Equally disastrous to health is the poor quality of food he is forced to exist upon, and although he spends the same proportion on food as the white man, malnutrition undermines him from early age. Rickets are common amongst negro children. Low income also means lower capacity to command medical facilities and resultant unnecessary suffering.

Side by side are the social handicaps with lower family security, create psychological complications that affect normal health ; that the American community which is so sensitive to health factors should be so callously indifferent to a particular section of that community is a painful and irreconcilable fact. Hospital facilities for negroes are inferior and in some areas non-existent. The community has to rely on negro physicians and they don't provide all types of specialists. The problems of low income go round in a vicious circle and lead to many unhappy complexities.

2

Not many however are conscious of the other equally basic, though perhaps subtler, factor which has gone towards creating the negro problem, one which serves as the foundation for a social system which militates against the negroes on all fronts, the Economic. It is impossible to portray the complete significance of the negro in the body politic, without a full treatment of this aspect of American economy, especially that of the plantation and the Black Belt, the survivals of chattel slavery. The inter-action between this and monopoly capitalism holds the key to the negro question.

The South is industrially a backward section. Its dominant note, the plantation economy, which has continued to stubbornly persist like an unreal island in a big sea of high power industry, has meant the existence of a semi-feudal social order built on antiquated forms of agriculture and consequently an extreme form of exploitation of the workers, who in this case, happen to be largely negroes.

It also explains the large concentrations of the negroes in that area, constituting about half the population, with majorities in several counties. No section of the country has been painted over with the colourful brush of romance and extravagant tradition than the South. Sacharine songs about it have tumbled out of books and dramas and pictures. Gorgeous tales of its vanished culture have left goo-goo eyed yankee ga-ga.

The products grown in the early plantations, tobacco, indigo, rice and later sugar, lent themselves to large-scale cultivation under labour gangs, making labour supply all important, and the vast areas could be converted into private properties under individual ownership. Where there were no peasants already in the land, the original Indians having been ousted, or killed off, and the survivors not fit for such strenuous labour, cheap and hardy labour in the form of the African Negroes had to be imported. These free men of the woods had patterned out of the unrepressed so called "Wilds" an indigenous culture of their own, and a social order composed of groups bound by inviolable bonds of communal responsibility. These men and women were cruelly uprooted from their natural bases and flung like pieces of drift-wood upon a running stream. The odds against them were too formidable and they were unable to salvage their wrecked lives and bind themselves together like mown reeds into a new sheaf. Men and women from

diverse parts, with varied modes of living were thrown together like odds and ends into a lumber chest. To them was set the colossal task of constructing a new way of life with no ties with the past, under the most unhelpful circumstances. A few who could, did make common cause with the Indian tribes who still continued to resist the white man. For 250 years they and their descendants slaved in the cotton fields. They could be kept cheaply on $15 a year. Plantation cultivation became so dependent on slavery that a planter had either to purchase slaves for his land or sell it. Many of the planters lived far away working through an overseer.

The plantation system has determined the entire Southern economy with its impact on non-plantation agriculture and even on the southern industry. It resisted the change-over in social content and form even when industrialisation did penetrate the South. To that extent the civil war failed to fulfil its proper task of rooting out slavery, as the French Revolution had done when the National Assembly severed all the feudal bonds of the enserfed peasantry, and one can easily say that the slave system in America was in the same position as the later status of feudalism in Europe. The magnificent Southern Cotton Belt also offered a natural base for the dominance of the foreign market.

The real content of chattel slavery though not in form, is found in the Southern tenancy. It has already been noted that one of the essential needs of the large scale farming in the South, was cheap labour. The whole process after the close of the civil war directed towards preventing this labour from getting hold of the means of production and developing free cultivation ; but instead making it forge indissoluble ties with the land itself. It further

resisted the use of wage labour, in other words capitalistic forms or labour. One of the steps in this direction was the vagrancy and apprenticeship laws known as the Black Codes. The latter empowered the Court authorities to apprentice to employers—the former masters to have preference—all children under 18 years of age who were "without visible means of support", or "whose parents refused to provide" for such minors. The would-be master usually petitioned the court to bind minors to him and secured children of the freed men working on the plantation, by declaring that such children had no visible means of support. The vagrancy laws declared that "all freemen, free negroes, mulattoes over the age of 18, found with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling together or together with white persons, so assembling with them on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with negro women, should be deemed vagrants." It further defined as a vagrant any one who could not pay the poll-tax, and he could be seized, hired out for the recovery of the tax and costs. Cash being very scarce amongst the negroes, good many were condemned as vagrants. Another method of ensuring cheap labour was through contracts. The negroes struggled against these, especially against long contracts, which were only another form of slavery. The vagrancy laws were called to enforce these contracts. From this disguised slavery it was only one step to sharecropping and other allied forms of labour.

Side by side with opposition to the wage-labour system, the planter opposed the capitalist forms of tenancy, by renting land to only that labourer who was able to furnish his own team and provision, thereby forcing gangs to work for standing wages, or an interest in the crop and thus enabling the farmer to have entire control of both

their time and labour. The prevailing forms of labour such as share-cropping are but survivals of chattel slavery except that in share-cropping, the landlord is saved the initial expense of investing on purchasing the slaves. There are three categories amongst the tillers of the soil, excluding wage-labour, *the share-croppers, the share-tenants and* the renters. In the first, all means of production, land implements and working stock, are owned by the land-owner. The cropper is allowed a plot of land with a cabin. Out of the total production, the cropper gives half outright to the land-owner for the use of the means of production. Out of the other half he pays for his food and other necessities as also for fertilising and ginning. He works under the strict supervision of the land-owner who also determines the nature of the crop, the acreage, method of cultivation and the marketing of the crop. The end of the year invariably finds the cropper tied to the landlord by advances he has received from the latter even for his bare subsistence, as practically the entire production is paid over to the landlord in some form or another. The social degradation that results from such a state of bondage can be well imagined. "The Negro skins the land and the landlord skins the Negro", goes an old saying.

The share-tenancy is a transition from share-cropping to the higher forms of tenancy just as share-cropping is a transition from chattel slavery to wage labour. The tenant differs materially in that he owns part of the means of production and makes an investment by furnishing the stock, implements and seeds. He pays rent in kind usually one-fourth or one-third of the crop, while the fertilisation costs are shared according to the ratio of each one's share of the crop. He is, however, comparatively freer and sometimes also pays the rent in cash.

The last category, the renter, resembles much more the tenant of the capitalistic areas. He provides his own equipment and pays rent only for the land with a fixed quantity of the produce, or in some cases in cash. He too is under the landlord's close supervision. No doubt share-cropping is often defined as wage-labour. In fact, according to Prof. Brooks who made a study of agrarian problems, the "share-tenant is in reality a day labourer. Instead of receiving weekly or monthly wages, he is paid a share of the crop raised on the tract of land for which he is responsible." The cropper has the last call upon the crop, only after the land-lord's dues have been all paid. Tenancy is a great handicap to the national development of agriculture for the tenant will not invest in land improvements. The larger the number of tenants, the greater the loss in fertility. This retarding influence on agricultural technique is further accentuated by the cultivation of a single commercial crop, cotton. The poverty of the tiller admits of no improvements even where he desires. The credit system which gives power to the creditor to determine the crop does not permit of rotating crops and is greatly responsible for soil deterioration.

The prolonged economic depression leading to acreage reduction, throws large number of hands on the market. This abundance of labour naturally cheapens its value and impedes progressive evolution of tenancy and forces down still further their wages. The planters obviously find it more profitable to retain share-cropping than wage-labour even at the lowest rate prevailing during the depression days. There was in fact a marked increase in the tenancy and share-cropping during those low days. In some States, as Louisiana and Georgia, the percentage of share-croppers is as high as 73%.

The degree of land-ownership among the Negro farmers should be an indicator of the extent of their subjection to the semi-feudal plantation economy, especially as the Black-belt contains almost 70% of all negro farm operators in the country, of whom less than half are actual landowners; while only one-fifth of the negro farm operators live beyond the Belt, 30% of the negro land-owners are to be found there, which proves that areas less dominated by slave survivals produce more actual land-owners. The great bulk of them own very small farms. Size by itself does not indicate the true economic value, since a low economic level cannot provide for intensive cultivation or agricultural improvements. On an average, 55% of the negro farmers have holdings of less than 50 acres, 22% under 20 acres as compared with the general average of 134 for the South. Thus whether as owners or tenants, the negroes may be classed as the lowest strata of the rural community.

The penetration of capitalism into this agrarian economy has also meant an expansion of the growing army of negro farm labourers who form an overwhelming majority in that class in the South.

One of the strongest pillars of this economy is the credit system, now an integral part of the Southern tenancy. Banks have long come to play a decisive role in the finances of Southern agriculture. In the pre-civil war days, planters were supplied with their needs and their cotton was marketted by cotton factors located in the big cities. With the economic collapse following the war, supply merchants situated in the towns and cities of the cotton belt began to furnish cotton growers with credit, and market their cotton, and the struggle for the plantation produce between the original land-owner and the rising merchant class

began. This was reflected in the Crop Lien laws. A new Act in 1875 permitted landlords to assign their liens for supplies, which meant that the merchants could take over and enforce them. Where this happened, the landlord usually moved to the town and became an absentee landlord, leaving actual supervision over the tenants to the merchants This became an additional factor in strengthening cropping and share-tenancy. The merchant was primarily interested in the supply and credit business and served in introducing finance capital in this vortex. As Prof. Brooks puts it: "The country bank took over the business of supplying the merchants with money. These merchants organised the cotton industry on a hitherto unknown scale, one such merchant operating 22,000 acres." On such plantations, the renters were rapidly displaced by croppers and share-tenants, under a resident manager, with riders to check on all labour. The tenants were forced to obtain all supplies from the manager. The plantations came to assume their former dominance, except that in place of the slave-owning planter was substituted the usurer-planter, equally interested in maintaining and strengthening this old form of exploitation.

Under this system the landlord retains direct supervision over the production of his tenants by his control of credit, protecting him in his lien for rent, the unpaid balance being carried over as a new advance, for the following year. In some States the work stock is included as part of the advances, enabling the landlord to attach all livestock. Where the cropper is legally classed as a labourer, he has no legal title to the crop. This also applies to share-tenants where they are legally classed as share-croppers. In other States, the legal classification of a cropper as a tenant is easily avoided by a special contract before he is "signed on",

under which he waives his title to the crop. All avenues of independent credit is thus denied to the cropper, and practically all tenantry is placed completely at the mercy of the landlord, for credit. On the plantation especially, the landlord is the sole credit source which he extends either through the plantation commissary, his general store or through a local merchant, the landlord settling all the accounts of the tenants and making the necessary adjustments by deductions, plus usury interest, etc.

This system retards social progress as well as technical and rational development of agriculture in the South. It confines cultivation to a single crop and discourages production of foodstuffs, which would free the tenant from having to obtain food on credit, the sale of which in itself provides a lucrative business for the merchant. This whole structure is maintained by banks (finance capital). The county bank has considerable influence for it is from this that the farmer is forced to borrow at an exorbitant rate of interest on the guarantee of his crop. The bank's arm controls the ploughing in the spring and the sales in the autumn, the local banks merely acting as agents for the larger ones. The whole system operates like an invisible giant maze from which there is no escape—the cotton merchants who cheat him by paying a low price, the speculators who gamble with prices to make vast fortunes, the exporters, the shippers, the manufacturers, all forming a dizzy spiral stair-case. And now that the Federal Government has taken over the function of these banks, the Federal Administration has become a large scale farm mortgagee. The Federal Land Banks are the largest holders of farm mortgages, holding 73% of the total mortgages, only the insurance companies coming next.

The acreage and crop reduction measures undertaken by the Government deepened the crisis. Ten million acres of

ripening cotton were ploughed under, destroying a possible four million bales of cotton! The Government offered payment to the farmers either in cash or in option on Government owned cotton. On the plantations the landlord signed up for their tenants and croppers. In most cases the Government cotton benefit cheques were sent directly to landlords and absentee owners, or to the banks, insurance companies or Government institutions holding claims against the farmer, all of whom had hardly any balance to turn over to the original signer of the plough under contract, after deducting the debt due. With the result many farmers never saw even a cent of this precious money or reap the benefit of the compensation. As some of the cropper's cotton was ploughed up, he was forced to work off his debts in other way or get simply sent down the road by the landlord. Acreage reduction also hastened the eviction of tenants and croppers. About 2,50,000 of them are said to have left the cotton area with their families. The relative position of the plantation economy is being strengthened at the elimination of the smaller farmers, credit being used as a club and acreage reduction as an auxiliary weapon, to the advantage of the large plantation. Out of the total fore-closure in the depression period, more than half occurred in the cotton belt.

The importance of cotton in American economy is revealed by the measures adopted by Roosevelt's Administration to preserve its dominant status. In fact an expert on this subject says that were raw cotton removed from U.S. foreign trade, the favourable trade balance would soon disappear. We can believe it when we find that at one time more than half of it was exported.

Although high finance and mechanised industry did eventually penetrate the South, it failed to effect that

transformation in the agrarian economy which invariably accompanies their advent. The 'supply of cheap labour rather than proximity to raw materials or markets determined the location of the southern factories. Yet out of 3,50,000 workers in the textile (the major industry) only 20,000 are negroes, and most of them working *around* the mill rather than *inside* it. This implies a desire to leave the black labour supply of the plantation untouched and unchanged and to retain labour within the frame work of the old agrarian system. It impresses one with the fact that industrialisation by itself need not necessarily make for progress. This aspect of excluding the negroes as far as possible has also accentuated their social segregation.

In spite of all obstacles a negro industrial working class did finally come into existence, though its size and importance may not have been impressive. Even all the skilled workers amongst them were not free wage-earners, many of them working in camps under close supervision, paid by script, etc. resulting in debt bondage and peonage. But it is time to turn to another branch of this family, the migrants to the 'North.

Although migrations had been going on all the time, they had not been on any appreciable scale until the close of World War 1. The prime factor which led to this was labour shortage created by the war and the restriction on immigration that followed. Had the negro not been so closely tied to the land, he might have broken away earlier. The migration was planned and brought about by the northern industrialists through regular agents, in the face of considerable opposition of the southern interests. This was not a new conflict. The migration, the road to industry, adventure and enterprise also led in turn to the formation of the negro middle class. But from the very start

social factors operated against this transformation restricting the venture to a limited and low level. The negro manufacturers are said to number not more than a couple of thousand. The professions too are circumscribed.

The greatest accumulation is in real estates, insurance and small banking, most of it all intertwined. Insurance is their peak due mainly to the unfavourable attitude of the big white companies, the banks coming next. Most of these, however, sustained big shocks in the economic crisis of 1933.

Business studies show that out of every 100 individually operated enterprises, barely a dozen are found still going at the end of two decades. As small business has been steadily beaten back by big combines and chain stores, the negro business has been hard hit. Moreover negro business has in no way been able to keep pace with negro education. It has to depend almost exclusively on negro customers, and surveys have revealed that more than half the professional negroes do not patronise it, some on the ground of cleanliness, others on the quality of goods etc. With this handicap, it is not surprising that the majority of educated negroes prefer academic professions to business.

The hope and the solution to this tragic tangle lies with the masses. Experience more than fulfils this hope. The coming together of both white and negro tenants and croppers into unions, with a vivid realisation of their common interest, is already paving the way to happier future. This has been by no means an easy task, for both have had to struggle against racial terrorism. Many, the best among them, have had to face death. Nevertheless the share-croppers' unions have been able to grow in strength and volume. These developments have been augmented by the growth of trade unionism in the South, for industrialisation has produced that class among the negroes capable of decisive

militant action and leadership helping thereby the negro workers to become an integral part of the entire working class. It is this solidarity which can force the back-bone of the agrarian movement and help the long oppressed peasantry, break its shackles and supply the power to destroy the remnants of slavery. Here we have the concrete link between the two phases of a mass movement, which forms a vital part of the larger national struggle for general economic and social justice.

For instance the presence of the heavy industrial area in close proximity to the Black Belt has meant a large concentration of the more conscious and experienced negro and white proletariat as neighbours to the black and white share-croppers and tenants. The working class movement has had its repercussions on the agrarian population, bringing home to each the struggle of the other and the significance of the interaction between the two.

At the same time, the migration to the North had served to plant the negroes into the very heart of a highly developed capitalist industry resulting in their most intensive transformation. At first they were welcomed by the employers as unskilled and underpaid workers and were used as scabs to fight the white workers and bear them down. For at that time they were ranged into two opposing camps, for the Negroes coming from rural areas were untutored in the principles of working class solidarity. This fratricidal warfare led to serious riots. The policies of the American Federation of Labour merely aggravated the disease, by shutting out negro workers and letting them undermine the entire labour front. But with experience the labour world began to change. The great economic crisis, the formation of the Congress Industrial Organisations, a new national labour front with mass bias and freely admitting all workers

irrespective of colour and race, turned the tide and laid the foundation of a modern scientific class struggle with a healthy reorientation towards fostering vital links between the two arms of the mass struggle, agrarian and urban. This has paved the way for the liberation of the negroes whose struggle is but part of the larger economic and social struggle. The negro question is in many ways a part of the larger question of the struggle between the dispossessed coloured world and the ruling white, which began with the steady decline and retreat of the former before the onslaught of the technology of the latter, putting the beaten people on the defensive materially and what is more important, psychologically. World War 1 deepened the shade of this conflict, World War 2 making it almost the crucial issue.

The many vivid inequalities in opportunity and treatment meted out to negroes in the war services has eaten into the heart of this long suffering community like freshly heated white-hot irons. Glaring discrimination which infected the army, the exclusion of the negroes from higher posts, lack of facilities in the newer branches like the air force brought forth country-wide protests, forced the President's intervention, but with little effect. The country has been shaken by negro riots which indicate a state of desperation on the part of the long oppressed. The piling injustices have continued to hit them slap in the face as never before, against the gruesome back-ground of a ruthless war that has taken away their finest flowers of youth and given in return galling insults to cherish, bitter memories to linger in their scalded hearts, and hand down as legacies, these dark burdens.

A Bill making assault on any member of the armed services a Federal offence which passed the Senate but got no further, had been necessitated by a shockingly large

number of assaults on negro soldiers, without any provocation. Most of these cases have been in the South where it had been almost impossible to have these criminals arrested or punished. Of equal interest is the fight for the enactment of Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination against negroes, jews and other racial groups who are victims of systematic prejudice. Historically the war exigency made this a burning question, when certain groups, mostly negroes, found themselves being rejected for training and service. In a body the leaders of the discriminated ones marched on Washington and forced the President to issue Executive orders for eliminating discrimination in the interest of all-out effort. A commission known as the President's Committee on Fair Employment practice was appointed. This commission, however had to contend against an inadequate budget, frequent shifts from one agency and department to another, and above all, want of real power to enforce the principle it stood for. Its work emphasised the need for a permanent agency to continue this task. As a result both the Republic and Democratic Parties introduced Bills for the establishment of Fair Employment Practice Commission. And both the parties were already committed to elimination of all racial discriminations. But this is not the full picture by any means. The entire Southern block, embracing a good many Democrats, opposed it. Filli-bustering Southerner, Senator Bilbo held the Senate floor for three days and a night, panting and ranting. "*If you go through the Government departments, there are so many niggers, it is like a black cloud all around you.*" When the breathless Senator sat down, up jumped the breathful Junior Senator East-land and began his coon-shout: "*We are dealing with an inferior race. Negro soldiers have caused the U. S. to lose prestige all over ...*"

Almost exultantly these race purists predicted race-riots, They had only one solution for it. They raise their full-some voices : "We do not believe in discrimination. We believe in segregation. Segregation is not discrimination"

The Senate could not muster enough courage to meet this challenge. It sought to bye-pass the real issue by accepting a compromise. It agreed to a deep cut in the appropriations. The result was that what was intended to be a permanent agency, could now function only for a period of six months or less.

Let us not however forget that although Asia is much more in the picture of the day, Africa promises to dominate the picture of tomorrow. The focal point will soon shift from Asia to Africa as it has already shifted from the west to the orient. All eyes will run towards this "dark mysterious continent" which is already deciding the fate of nations.

The English language lends itself to subtlety and its phrases often cover up embarrassing objectives with obscurity. There is nothing peculiarly dark or mysterious about Africa except the appalling ignorance of the world about it. It is easy to veil this with two misleading words usually whispered in solemn hush. It is so convenient to dismiss the thorny subject of the colonials by calling them barbarians and asking the world to believe that the white man in a magnanimous moment loaded himself with this heavy burden. Lots of people ignore the fact that until less than a century ago, most of Africa was an unknown land to the white man, that Africa was a land of people with a fine civilisation of their own. They lived in orderly, disciplined communities under well directed governments of their own and no cannibals running wild feeding on each other, something that is becoming very much a feature of

Europe at the moment, except that the latter use far deadlier and more devastating modern weapons than any cannibal could have ever dreamed of. Morocco, Abyssinia, Zanzibar, Liberia, the great kingdoms of Ashanti, Dahomey, Benin, Uganda, Casembe, Musta, Yanvo and countless others were free countries not so very long ago and the Boers paid yearly tribute to the warlike Zulus within our own knowledge.

The American Readers' Digest had a note on Africans recently which may not be out of place to quote here to dispel the theory that Africans are but savages : "African has the most enviable manners. He is able to make the distinctness between politeness and familiarity, in others. He is more discriminating than the European because his judgment is unencumbered with prejudiced class-consciousness and esteem for wealth and intellectualism. He never despises a man for being poor. Three virtues are of prime importance to him—self-control, humour and politeness. To him there is nothing traditional about the white man. He judges all by their observable character."

The discovery of the richest diamond fields sealed the fate of many of these free lands. The history of Africa is that of one of the biggest land grabs effected by bullets, chicanery, guns and merchandises. The dark, courageous ruling heads either rolled into the dust or vanished. The 19th century closed on a prostrate continent which had seen cruelty, conquest, persecution, at the hands of "civilization" on a scale no barbarians had hitherto been capable of. The fate of this unhappy continent was equally reflected in the fate of its offsprings rudely uprooted and exiled to far off lands. And strangely enough just as Africa dropped like a wounded lion into the European sack, its long oppressed exiled children spurted into new life in the New

World. The chains rolled off their arms and feet, the banner of freedom rose over Latin America, Negro republics sprang up, mulattoes sat as dictators and ruled over countries. The coloured man began to "come back". Soon Africa too, will come back, and come into her own, and the dark ones will cease to be the "untouchables" of the world. The international colour line has been challenged and stormed by Asia. No more the colonials will allow themselves to be jim-crowed the world over and their country looted under pseudo-slogans. The Negro problem will only cease when the colourline of imperialism vanishes, when Science becomes the benefactor of man and knowledge his friend, and human respect for each other and for the sanctity of life are observed as the codes of our daily life.

CHAPTER VII

THE NYON LIGHTS

I

I once motored across America during Christmas. It proved a journey of endless delight. The world was gay and happy. As I approached each village and town, my heart danced and glowed, for the streets were alight with a festival of colours, as though all the colours from a million dawns and sunsets and a million rainbows had been drawn to get up this *fiesta* of coloured lights to herald the advent of the Prince of Divinity. It seemed a wondrous land where night could be transformed into day. The gloom of night was but an illusion, the brightness of day a reality. It was as though a magic wand had been waved to beat back the shades of death and call out the myriad orbs of life-giving light.

These were no still passive flames, but alive with a million swift moving forms and shapes. They danced and whirled, zig-zagged, serpentined and jazzed. They spoke with a million fiery tongues. They were a fantasy and yet a reality. Outside the snowflakes fell and piled up. One gritted one's teeth as the cold pierced through unseen chinks. But miles upon miles of these lights shot past us as we sped through village after village, town after town, and my heart glowed and danced to the million tunes of the million shades.

In America, there is eternal Christmas. America is ever alit with a million nyon lights, beacons of hope and courage to flagging humanity. Strong bright veins of idea-

lism shoot through the grey massive rocks of reality. No matter how black the night, there are always the scintillating nyon lights to brighten up the enveloping gloom.

Two dynamic currents have cut across America's volcanic growth of billion dollar rockets and centurian skyscrapers : One, the economic revolt against big business trusts, combines, corporations, landlords, against sweat shops, child labour, poverty slums. The other, political, against corrupt practices, for greater democratisation of governmental machinery, to save the Indian and the Negro from exploitation. These crusades were initiated originally in the early days by a group, consisting of idealists and young journalists, who day after day, relentlessly carried on war on all fronts ; of poets and novelists, philosophers and artists, all turning their talent to the problems of social and political justice. The theme became supreme in preference to romance and fancy. Scholars and professors emerged from their scheduled studies to traverse the pavements and rub shoulders with the-man-in-the-street. The battle raged over many decades and has continued down to the present day in the true American tradition, without favour or fear, against "Rings" and "Halls" fattening on the public treasury, selling of public franchise, exploitation of crime and vice, the saloon and the house of ill-fame protected and encouraged by the politicians, and the interests who profited by them ; against criminal gangs who had long gone their predatory ways free and undisturbed by police interference, and against a host of other evils, ostentatious or invisible. Within a decade of the start of this crusade, social conscience, had begun to stir, and these succeeding decades have seen the launching of varied programmes of social relief, education, public health, housing and the like, while fierce battles have continued to

be waged on several fronts, and efforts put forth to meet the many terrifying challenges of modern civilization. Today society recognises it as its duty to take children off the streets and away from gangs, and give them a better chance of health and decency; provide play-grounds and parks in the crowded sections; fresh-air funds for vacations into the country; milk depots, to distribute free milk to those unable to buy it; day nurseries to relieve working mothers of anxiety for their children; visiting nurses to give free medical and nursing care. Organisations like Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., Scout and Girl Guide, have sprung up as healthy outlets for the young energies.

The general awakening has led to the growth and development of the social sciences in America on a basis and pattern unknown hitherto. They have come to occupy a vital place in human study and affairs. The most hopeful feature is an increasingly growing awareness of the significance and importance of scientific social work which is no more the leisure-hour hobby of the few rich, and haphazard experiment of the amateur. Instead it has become a natural and integral part of national life, put on a permanent scientific basis. The coming of the New Deal and the recognition and co-operation from the administration have provided it a more advantageous setting. Social work is now executed with the same precision and care as medical science, directed by specialised experts and carried out through trained workers. The function of social science is shifting from that of social cure to that of social preventive, for there is not a greater truism than the ancient saying: "Prevention is better than cure." It would need a study in itself and several volumes to give a brief but appreciable idea of the development of social science and its multiple results in the U.S., so vast and complex

are they. There are some 440 national and private agencies and 592 State agencies at work in the country.

The Senate Sub-Committee on wartime Health and Education advocated a system of national health centres in every community of the U.S. operated under federal grants-in-aid. The centres would combine preventive, diagnostic and curative care and function through small community health centres, rural hospitals, district hospitals or large base hospitals.

One of the important features is the recognition of the vital role of environment in the development of human beings and therefore the emphasis on the care of the child who forms the very core and foundation of society. Although this is new and still in its infancy, it is a most encouraging feature. The President defined the basis of the U.S. attitude when he declared : "All Americans want this country to be a place where children can live in safety and grow in understanding of the part that they are going to play in the future of our American nation. If anywhere in the country, any child lacks opportunity for home life, for health, for protection, for education, for moral or spiritual development, the strength of the nation and its ability to cherish and advance the principle of democracy, are thereby weakened." These principles have been embodied in the Children's Charter, perhaps, the most monumental American document after the Declaration of Rights.

The Children's Charter

The President's White House Conference on Child-Health and Protection, recognising the rights of the child, as the first rights of citizenship, pledges itself to these aims for the children of America :

I. For every child, spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.

II. For every child, understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.

III. For every child, a home and that love and security which hope provides; and for that child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home.

IV. For every child, full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving pre-natal, natal and post-natal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make child-bearing safer.

V. For every child, health protection from birth through adolescence, including periodical health examinations and, where needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment, regular dental examinations and care of teeth, protective and preventive measures against communicable diseases; the insuring of pure food, pure milk and pure water.

VI. For every child, from birth through adolescence promotion of health, including health instruction and a health programme, wholesome physical and mental recreations, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

VII. For every child, a dwelling place safe, sanitary and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching.

VIII. For every child, a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted and ventilated. For younger children, nursery schools and kindergartens, to supplement home care.

IX. For every child, a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards, and disease; provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation; and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

X. For every child, an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life and, through training and vocational guidance, prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.

XI. For every child, such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, home-making and the rights of citizenship; and for parents, supplementary to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.

XII. For every child, education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him, those to which he is directly exposed, and those which, through loss or maiming of his parents, affect him indirectly.

XIII. For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expense of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot privately be met.

XIV. For every child, who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast; with the home, the school, the church, the court and the institution, when needed, shaped to return him whenever possible, to the normal stream of life.

XV. For every child, the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.

XVI. For every child, protection against labour that stunts growth, either physical or mental, that limits educa-

tion, that deprives children of the right of comradeship, of play, and of joy.

XVII. For every rural child, as satisfactory schooling and healthy services as for the city child, and extension to rural families of social, recreational and cultural facilities.

XVIII. To supplement the home and the school, the training of youth, and to return to them those interests of which modern life tends to cheat children, every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organisations.

XIX. To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county or community organisation for health, education and welfare, with full-time officials co-ordinating with a State-wide programme which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics, and scientific research.

This should include :—

(*a*) Trained full-time public health officials with public health nurses, sanitary inspection, and laboratory workers.

(*b*) Available hospital beds.

(*c*) Full-time public welfare service for the relief, aid and guidance of children in special need due to poverty, misfortune, or behaviour difficulties, and for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation or moral hazard.

For every child, these rights regardless of race, or colour, or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American Flag.

To give an outward form to the importance of children as the future citizens of the country, Congress by a joint

resolution, requested the President to issue annually a proclamation setting aside one day to be dedicated to the children when all the people in the country might give serious thought to the need of conserving the health of the children. In his 1940 proclamation the President asked the people to consider the recommendation of the White House Conference on children in a Democracy, to take steps to strengthen and extend health protection and medical care for mothers and children. He also asked that the boys and girls of the nation note the gains already made, and strive for still further improvement in the present year. In founding the Children's Bureau,—"to investigate, to report, to administer, are the specific functions of the Children's Bureau",—the Federal Government has set the administrative seal on this all important national unit—the child. The child is indeed father of the man in more sense than the biological. Some 308 private agencies engaged in this field report to the Children's Bureau. Among large urban areas clinics operated by some 443 agencies, 122 public and 321 private have an important place in community programmes in providing medical service to the needy and for maintaining public health control, and which forms the largest item of expenditure. The work is mainly under heads such as : Aid to dependent children ; behaviour problems of children ; boys' and girls' work organisations ; child-welfare ; crippled children ; juvenile and relations courts ; maternal and child health ; vocational guidance. Then there is the White House Conference where many national aspects of the child's problems are dealt with as also youth programmes. The American youth commissioner has recommended the introduction of social studies in the secondary school curriculum to enable young people to understand social problems of food, housing, community

planning, national industries, labour, co-operatives; need and method of national conservation, of natural resources; currency, municipal governments etc. and in the high school a course in personal problems of physical and mental health and family life.

It has been laid down that: "An acceptance of the democratic philosophy that all children are vitally important and the mechanism of the agency should not become top heavy for any special group. The rural child who has been known to the agency for a period of years is just as important as the waif who has toured different States. It is the children's inalienable right to have case service of the highest quality when hazards over which he has no control deprive him of family care and protection." It is also being increasingly realised that the responsibility for dealing with these problems rests not with the case worker alone but with all the citizens. The people have to be made to see that the welfare of all the children is their problem, not merely of an agency. The Chief of the Children's Bureau struck the key note when she said: "Although our task is world-wide, the objectives of the free nations of the world centre in the homes of their citizens. It is in the home, above all, that children grow into free, responsible and effective individuals. Fear, anxiety, insecurity, are likely to be far more serious than bombs, and the responsibility for their prevention lies chiefly in the hands of parents and other adults who come in daily contact with children. Their task is to be able to import security and confidence to the children, who depend on them for guidance and example. Beyond this, the community's service to safeguarding health, home life, education and general well being are necessary and must receive sufficient support in money and personnel to afford vital protection. Hard-won

standards for children in industries, to keep them from harmful toil must be maintained ; housing shortage must be overcome ; breadwinners must have ready access to employment for the sake both of their families and of the productive capacity of the nation ; health supervision, medical care, schooling, recreational opportunity, must be generally available. Children suffering from special handicaps must be cared for and given protection."

All these tasks require maximum co-ordination of organised programmes and utilisation of both professional and voluntary effort. And this has been attempted on a gigantic scale.

Pre-natal and anti-natal care has come to play a very decisive role in the welfare works programme. The steady decline in infant mortality by 17% in a decade (1930 to 1940) testifies to the success of these efforts. For about 58% of the deaths of infants under one year of age and 82% under one month, are directly attributable to pre-natal and ante-natal causes. Among the causes of neo-natal deaths, (deaths of infants under one month) premature birth plays the chief role accounting for 13.3 per 1000 live births. In 1936, the infant mortality rate was 70.2 per 1000 live births, in 1940 it came down to 48. The maternal death rate from diphtheria was lowest, in 1940. A plan is adopted to provide adequate space for each prematurely born infant, and hospital authorities are also assisted in planning construction units for such infants in new or remodelled hospitals, with such accessory rooms as isolation, supply, utility and milk room. The figures for maternity death rates are most heartening. There has been a reduction by about 14% in a single year.

There is no Federal maternity leave and care law, and very few States have it, which may seem surprising. To

compensate this under war pressure, the Women's and Children's Bureaus have in a statement laid down for general guidance standards for maternity care and employment of mothers in industry. It particularly stresses that the labour situation in the country does not necessitate the employment of pregnant women or women with infants, and that a woman should give her first consideration to her own health and to safeguard the health of her child. Opportunities for adequate pre-natal care are also recommended for her with an injunction that she should not be employed on night shifts or strenuous jobs or for more than eight hours in a day or 48 hours a week, with provision for brief periods of rest as also a minimum of six weeks before delivery and two months after. It is a significant fact that one day in the year, 12th May, is dedicated to the mother, known as the Mother's Day when children send greetings to their mothers along with gifts.

The degree to which public services have expanded since 1936 when Federal grants-in-aid became available and plans for the extension and improvement of services for the groups in greatest need of care were developed, is evidenced by the fact that while in 1936, 688 maternity patients received pre-natal care at health department clinics, in 1940 the number exceeded 5000. In 1936, some 7500 babies or pre-school children were registered for health supervision, in 1940, the number exceeded 18,000. In 1936, the only procedure carried out at the clinics in addition to regular health supervision was immunisation against diphtheria. In 1940, treatment for syphilis for expectant mothers and for children, vaccination against small-pox, shick tests and tuberculin tests were added. Vision screen tests of pre-school children were also undertaken. The total number of visitors, mothers, and children to clinics for these various

components of health protection increased from 55,000 in 1936 to 1,24,000 in 1940. The expansion of clinic services goes hand in hand with planning for the clinic follow-up of mother and baby afterwards. In addition, a study of all maternal deaths, still-births, and infant deaths, is made currently with the active co-operation of the medical societies and the Children's Bureau. In addition, voluntary hospitals through the help of the community chests, maintain pre-natal clinics and child welfare clinics at the children's hospitals ; the out and in-patient services for sick children at the children's and some other hospitals in the city. Services of the Instructive Visiting Nurse Society, medical and dental care, health education, and other services of various kinds are made available by many other organisations and agencies.

One of the basic features of the White House Conference relates to protection for young people legally permitted to work, such as regulation of hours, night work, employment of minors in hazardous works, etc.

Although child labour has been decreasing in manufacturing plants, more and more is heard of the pathetic plight of youngsters in the "factories in the fields" due to the absence of adequate legislation in the various States to protect them.

The dependence of children on community services is intensified when large numbers of mothers are employed outside the home. In 1942, the President of the U.S. allocated from the emergency fund $94,00,000 to the Office Defence, Health and Welfare Services Federal Security Agency, for the promotion and co-ordination of programmes for the working mother's children. The funds are also allocated to a limited number of States as grants-in-aid for plans approved by the Children's Bureau or the U.S. Com-

missioner of Education, where the States show that no other funds are available for these services.

Three forms of services, social welfare, health and education, enter into this "all day" care of children. The essential point borne in mind is to keep the family-home as the focal point, for if the individual child is to receive the guidance and care it needs, there must be an understanding of the conditions under which it lives and the home to which it returns at night. And for this purpose the co-operation of the parents is earnestly solicited. Care away from the houses is not resorted to without special safeguards. And the supervision of children of working mothers is made available not only for the pre-school children, but for children of all ages, during the mothers' absence, specially for the school-going during the after-school period. Here children of different ages require varying types of provision. Sometimes the day-care and after-school centres are located in the same place or in the school itself, and include general social service and parent education. In every case emphasis is laid upon individual attention. Home-maker service provides care during the mother's absence or illness to make up for the loss of the care and support of the mother. It is also made available to families with low incomes to enable preserve the home intact. Home makers are carefully selected and trained by the same agency which provides the case work for the family. By this plan, the continuity and security of the home is not disturbed for the children.

But all such programmes are related to other services providing health, protection, educational facilities, recreational and social services.

All social work, particularly welfare work for mothers and children demands trained, specialised workers. It is

not left to the hazards of uninitiated leisure hour workers who build more on sentiment than on science. But at a time of emergency such as war the shortage of professional works calls for volunteers to back it up with supplementary work. The volunteers are made to go through a short training before they come into the field. This basic course includes lectures, observation visits to social welfare agencies and a period of supervised study and practice in one or two agencies giving related services, covering in all 80 hours study and work.

Concern for the nutritional well-being of children is another focal point. Leaders in the field of human nutrition have formulated a statement of dietary requirements for various ages and varying degrees of activity, and weekly food lists are set up. The material and child health workers have thus a reliable standard to go upon, a yard stick to measure as it were, the adequacy and quality of the food consumed by individuals and families. Leadership in this activity is generally taken by the State Nutrition Committee, the co-ordinating agency which works in every State. Dietory allowances recommended by the National Research Council have improved the family dietary budget. The National Nutrition programme has unquestionably stimulated vigorous and continued research into human nutritional needs. More widespread education of social workers in the newer knowledge of nutrition is a major activity of several States' Nutrition Committees, on which are usually represented several welfare organisations. A good many bodies like the American Medical Association are featuring lectures and conducting short courses on nutrition to have such knowledge conveyed to the lay people through organs like the press and radio. At most National Conferences, considerable time is devoted to food values.

In the rural areas there are several agencies like the Welfare Department, the Red Cross, the Children's Aid Society, Parent-Teacher Association, that work amongst people with low incomes, while effective work is done by the home-visiting nurses who carry instruction into every home.

Conferences on child health are held bi-monthly when demonstrations are given to mothers. The Country Home Demonstration carries on through the Women's Clubs. The school also plays its part in giving instruction and providing school lunch programmes for children who come without breakfast. Nutrition Weeks are organised by Nutrition Institutes. The community is being made more and more food conscious. Every public health nurse in the country is said to spend half her time in nutrition work.

Another point which the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy stressed was children in agriculture. It said : "The fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that the work of children in certain phases of agriculture is different today from what it was when children were mainly working for their parents. With the development of intensive cultivation of specialised crops there has grown up the practice of using large numbers of children in industrialised agriculture, under conditions which in many instances differ little from those of "sweat shops", and which require the same kind of safeguards as those found necessary with reference to industrial employment." It also recommended that the minimum age for work outside of school hours in non-manufacturing occupations be 14 years and manufacturing 16, and for hazardous jobs 18. In pursuance of this principle the Children's Bureau, in co-operation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is making proof-of-age cards available for children engaged in non-factory work with the assistance of the

Department of Labour and Education. "There are still more than twice as many establishments violating the child labour Provisions of the Fair Labour Standards Act, and more than twice as many minors illegally employed," record the child labour inspectors for the year 1942-43. With more than 4000 minors illegally employed, it is obvious this trend has been accelerated by war pressure. For instance on one Cold Storage Plant, 24 children of 10 to 15 years of age were found capping strawberries for storage, working from 3 A.M. to 7 A.M. when they had to scamper off to school. Some even cut school and worked until the late afternoon or evening. 41 boys under age were found working in the cannery and the field both, and included children as young as nine. In the "green wrap", where tomatoes are picked just before being shipped, the packing is done late in the day and children ranging from 8 work until 11-30 P.M., some of them doing from 58 to 64 hours in a single week. Of the 3670 engaged in picking berries, 2156 were found below 18 ; 1070 under 14 ; 9% under 10.

Attempts to combat this are made by careful inspection with the assurance of age certificates, and acquainting people with the provisions of labour standards. Their interpretation and enforcement are significant factors in determining the numbers of children who leave school under 16 years of age. It is felt that such children merit concern. The laws on this vary from State to State, some insisting on full attendance up to 16 and some up to 14 ; some may leave school earlier provided they have completed the elementary course of study and get lawfully employed.

Closely allied is the provision for leisure hour activities, some permitting certain types of employment after school hours, like selling newspapers. The realisation is

growing that the use of one's leisure time has much to do towards the development of the personality as well as professional status, particularly in interesting the individual to spend hours in community activities.

The Act creating the Children's Bureau also directed it to "especially investigate. . . .dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children." It provides that the Chief of the Children's Bureau "shall find and by order declare such occupations to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children between such ages or detrimental to their health or well-being. . . ." The enforcement of the Child Labour Provisions was placed in the jurisdiction of the Children's Bureau by the Congress.

Such occupations and accidents resulting therefrom have been the concern of the Industrial Division over many years, and since the enactment of the Fair Labour Standards Act of 1938 with its 18 years as minimum age for hazardous works, this field has become one of the most important activities of the Bureau. In administering this clause, the Bureau with the advice of an Advisory Committee on Occupations Hazardous for Minors, defined certain basic principles such as (1) That occupations, particularly hazardous or detrimental to the health or well-being of workers in general, are also particularly hazardous or detrimental to the health or well-being of minors under 18. (2) That other occupations not particularly hazardous or detrimental to the health or well being of adult and experienced workers, may nevertheless be particularly hazardous for minors under 18, because they require a degree of mascular co-ordination, stability, maturity of judgment, or resourcefulness in meeting emergencies not usually characteristic of young workers.

By research and study made of various occupations

and industries on the nature and degree of the hazards of work in them, and in consultation with employers, labour unions, factory inspectors, industrial experts, a list was prepared, after which public hearings were held to give opportunity for objections and review. The final list was thereafter issued by the Bureau on these occupations. Everywhere the age certificates simplify the test and all employers are expected to keep them on the file. In some States, age certificates are absolutely essential for employment. The hazardous occupation orders cover manufacture of explosives, motor vehicle driving, coal mining, logging and saw-milling industries—all jobs involving the operation of power-driven, wood working machines.

In the field of services for handicapped children, the extension and improvement of services for crippled children and those with tendencies which lead to crippling, grants from the Children's Bureau together with funds used for hospitalisation and other types of care for crippled children, have made possible the beginning of a country-wide organised programme for such cases. In 1940, 367 children were given 25,164 days of hospital care.

While extending and improving services to crippled children under the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, it has become essential to foster the services on a State-wide basis, locating and extending them to rural and distressed areas, which usually lack funds.

When the State assumed responsibility for the medical care of the crippled child it also implied responsibility to provide it in its own environment, as from this would accrue the greatest benefit to the child. In many States public health nurses and medical social workers also serve the individual child, particularly in the more remote parts. But with a widening awareness of its importance, local services

are developing and such work is now being carried on through the local personnel, relieving the State workers for their normal function of consultation and supervision. The immense advantage to the child in being able to get the necessary care in its own home, is thereby assured.

In recent years, greater opportunities for camping are provided for the physically handicapped children. They are mostly meant for crippled children living in over-crowded city areas and who by reason of their physical limitations have seldom been privileged to develop their personality in nature's workshop. To such, out-of-door recreation is a physical, mental and spiritual adventure. Special ramps and other facilities such as wheel chairs, crutches, and hand-rails are provided for children who are unable to use steps. The camp usually lasts about eight weeks, and continuity of medical care is maintained under qualified specialists, physicotherapists and occupational therapists. Camp activities are carefully selected to suit handicapped children. Emphasis is placed on the occupational therapy aspect of craft-work for children.

Much thought has also been given to improving the instruction programme for children who are unable to participate in class room instruction, particularly in the face of inadequate funds. In 1939 the Department of Public Instruction adopted the apparatus used for ordinary communication. A box-like instrument resembling a radio, is placed in the child's room and a similar one in the teacher's desk at school. The child through this devise follows all what goes on in the school and even takes part in recitation, singing, etc. The cost of the equipment and installation has been comparatively low, as usually the major telephone company in the State waives the service-fees, thus encouraging a wider use of it. The leased pair of wires

between class room and home cost the school concerned $ 1.25 (around Rs. 3) which is negligible considering the immense advantages. Children with rheumatic fever and heart disease, are ministered to by the State Crippled Children's Bureau, in general accordance with the policies of the Children's Bureau Advisory Committee on Services for Crippled Children. They are served by a full time pediatrician who acts as director, a public health nursing consultant, a medical social consultant, a clerk, together with part-time consultant services of a cardiologist and technician. All under 21 are eligible for the clinic treatment, and all under 16 also for hospital and convalescent home care. A patient under 16 once admitted into hospital is permitted to continue there until 21. Clinics are held twice a day for outdoor patients. If the convalescing is at home in a city, nurses of the Instructive Visiting Nurses' Association furnish the necessary bedside care and supervision ; if it is in the country, the public health nurses. Where the home does not provide adequate facility, convalescent homes are available. Even after being discharged, the child is watched and submitted to periodical examination.

A general awakening along with a keener sensitiveness to the health of the entire nation under pressure of war, brought to focus attention on the minority groups. On the whole, information regarding these is meagre except in States like California, where such groups are much larger and more dominant, particularly the Mexican and Oriental each of whom lives a community life of its own. Opportunities for healthful living are unequal and the application of general U.S. figures to these groups would be most misleading, as it would be for the Negroes or the American Indians. For instance prevalence of tuberculosis amongst the Indians, is discouraging. So poignantly has this fact

been brought out by Ira de Reid in his book, "In a Minor Key" prepared for the American Youth Commission : "So despite the proverb, death too is a respecter of persons, its heavy hand does not fall with equal frequency on youth of all colours and origins. It takes the poor before the rich, the foreign born before the native born, and the coloured before the White, for the art of life can be practised well only when external circumstances are moderately favourable."

The most significant and important among the new provisions are the psychological services for children. Until a short time ago there had been no systematic psychometric examination by a qualified clinician of children served by private or public agencies. The most was a test by the local teacher with a background in psychology, before committing the child to an institution, which was a mere makeshift, half-hearted attempt.

These specialised services are now made available through the child welfare channels. Unfortunately they are mostly located in urban areas because of the number of clinics sponsored by State, Hospital, University or private agency, under the Social Security Act which finances many of these. Such services are being supplied where no clinics exist, by a visiting psychologist, through centres where child welfare workers are stationed. The workers select the children in consultation with school teachers and officials of welfare agencies and the child welfare worker usually sorts out the cases which present a definite problem and in which follow-up work is required.

Since it is undesirable for children or communities to associate mental testing with feeble-mindedness and as teachers are likely to refer for testing only subnormal pupils and children presenting behaviour problems, an effort is

made to include in the examination, some of the brightest children along with the handicapped. School authorities differ on the necessity of obtaining parent's consent but as a rule the best results have been obtained when interpretation is made in advance to both child and family. The findings of the psychologist and a discussion on them are sought by the teachers after the examinations, to get hints as to their application. Many parents also seek information and guidance. Talks are also given with outlines of work before Women's Clubs and teacher-Parent Associations. But as visiting services are limited in scope and infrequent, greater effort is made to establish full-time child guidance clinics in rural communities which combine the professional services of the psychiatrist, the psychiatric social worker, and the psychologist. Complete diagnostic, psychological treatment services are provided. Such clinics are assisted by a citizen's advisory board composed of lay and professional people, and another a purely professional one of experts. This helps to keep alive the interest of the community in the clinic and ensure the finances. The major part of the expenses is met from Federal Funds under the Social Security Act which gives it security and permanence. The clinic includes three types of services—psychological study, diagnostic study, and treatment, each of which is different in terms of purpose and extent of service.

A child's need for support from his environment, the parent's responsibility for giving this support and the mental understanding between child and parent are recognised as essential in the normal growth of the child and in the process of psychological treatment.

It is not necessarily the parent who brings the child to the clinic. There is a special agency who is entirely responsible and who arranges the services, takes interviews and

submits the child for investigation. Sometimes the parents submit themselves to clinical guidance and make necessary adjustment in their relation to the child in order to give support to the child and to maintain the harmonious balance in the complex and meaningful parent-child relationship. The clinic provides tangible points in relation to which the parent can become aware of his or her responsibility and assume it.

A new problem created by the War in Europe was the large influx of refugee children to America, creating a problem for special consideration. It was necessary to place them under the continuous supervision of welfare organisations. As a basis for this, affidavits from individuals taking in children were taken wherein each guaranteed support for the children in his own house or by cash contribution to maintain the child, along the standards laid down by the Children's Bureau. A total of 184 child carrying agencies in various States were designated provisionally by the Children's Bureau in consultation with State Welfare Departments for immediate service in the placement and supervision of some 7000 children, of whom about half were accompanied by parents. Such an emergency brought out the best in American genius and experience in child welfare work. For it needs immense tact and care to deal with children who had experienced precipitate breaks with their own families and environment, and were called upon to adjust themselves to an alien one. That such precise attention and care in keeping with recognised standards of health was bestowed upon them is a tribute to the keen social awareness prevailing in the U.S.

The many assaults on the weaker elements of society which a war emergency naturally implies, did not spare the child. The accelerated demand for labour for war needs

threatened the Children's protected front. Definite attacks on existing child labour standards were constant, resulting in some cases in relaxation in the State Laws such as minimum age, hours of work, release from school for agricultural work, etc. Yet it is significant that in spite of some unfavourable trends a number of improvements were made in the existing child labour and school attendance laws.

The most encouraging feature was the statement of policies issued jointly by the U.S. Departments of Education, Agriculture and Employment Service through the Children's Bureau on recruitment of young workers for War Work. It laid down that youths of 16 and above should be engaged before children of 15 are called upon ; and the schools should make every effort to develop programmes that will wisely dovetail school activities with agricultural work and will result in no curtailment of school terms. Children of 14 and 15 should not be released from school nor their school programmes modified, unless it is found that the need for farm labour cannot be met in any other practicable way, in which case school attendance and programmes should be so arranged as to interfere least with normal school work. School work and home duties should constitute the only work-activities of children under 14 years of age and such children should not be employed in agriculture outside the home farm.

An alarming problem looming large on the U.S. horizon during the war was the terrifying migration of children from schools to factories. In three years, the nation's High Schools lost a million pupils to war jobs. Of the five million youngsters taking summer jobs, as many as three to four million failed to rejoin school in autumn. The Children's Bureau deeply concerned over the deserting

school children, and increasing violations of child-labour laws (New York cases alone were estimated at 125 thousand) prevailed upon the Government to start a "Back to School" campaign. Almost every popular star and figure was enlisted in this onerous task, from Bing Crosby who appealed through a movie shot and Frank Sinatra to the Quiz Kids. Washington in active collaboration with the 48 States began the biggest school drive in history.

The following recommendations of the Chief of the Children's Bureau make very encouraging reading for they show a realistic appreciation of the role of the child in those painful times and a continued attempt to maintain the standards already attained: "A democratic society has no power to survive unless its children are born and reared under conditions which make for strong, intelligent, resourceful and devoted citizens.

Responsible parenthood is the first requisite in the nature and training of children. But the degree to which childhood is safe and happy is also dependent upon conditions of community services which are available to supplement home care. During this period when the resources of the nation are being mobilised for total defence of all that we hold dear, the following steps should be taken by local committees in order to make sure that children everywhere in the U.S. receive the protection and service which their safety, health and well-being call for.

A. Development of co-ordinated planning and action for children, with the participation of both public and private health and welfare agencies and citizens' groups and with stimulation from local Councils of Defence, Councils of social agencies or other resources for community leadership.

B. Direction of volunteer effort to re-inforce profes-

sional staff in various fields of service to children.

C. Continuous efforts to provide :

(1) Complete maternity care for all mothers who can't obtain such care through their own resources.

(2) Continued health supervision for all children.

(3) Medical, surgical and dental care as needed for children of all ages.

(4) Protective foods needed for good nutrition at home and through school lunch programmes.

(5) Adequate programmes of general relief and aid to dependent children.

(6) Social service to help conserve home life, prevent delinquency and deal with problems of home and school relationships.

(7) Adequate facilities and personnel for schooling and recreation."

The U.S. administrative authorities have long realised their full responsibility toward the day to day care of children, and where such care is lost due to the death of parents or the breadwinner in the nearest relative, the government rehabilitate the family. In the last 25 years, State after State has been providing for "mothers' aid" allowances so that children left helpless could continue to be reared in the family, where otherwise the home would be broken up. Now through the Social Security Act, the Federal Government sets a general pattern and shares the cash with every State that comes into this plan. Federal money may be used to aid a child upto the age of 16 or 18 if it is still in school. Under this Act, States must provide for fair hearings before the State agency, which is an important protection because it gives families who have lost the aid for some

reason, an opportunity for their case to be impartially reviewed.

The problem of mental deficiency, as it relates to social responsibilities shared jointly by local communities and by the State, is of outstanding importance to a society growing increasingly complex. These responsibilities assume large proportions in the vast metropolitan areas such as New York city where the number of mental defectives totals scores of thousands. Roughly there are around 70,000 idiots and imbeciles, 9,80,000 high grade and border line defectives.

General social services in the field of psychology are being developed rapidly and on an extensive scale. The psychological work at Letchworth is an instance. It is one of five New York State Institutions for mental defectives under the Department of Mental Hygiene. It started work as far back as 1911 and carries with it a research department. The Letchworth village institute is a little world in itself, its population of 4000 representing practically all forms of mental deficiency and with ages ranging from infancy to almost a century, and presenting a wide variety of clinical, educational and custodial problems, which demonstrate the variety and scope of the clinical service provided.

The work is planned with three objectives : To meet the needs of the institution, to furnish clinical material, to provide data for research studies. The research and its practical execution through the clinic have to keep pace with each other, while keeping up with the arrival of the fresh cases, sometimes as many as 600 per year. The inmates live a kind of a country community life, running their own farm, dairy, stores, etc. Vocational occupation is also provided and some of them become experts in such crafts.

The problem of juvenile delinquency has been receiv-

ing very special attention, particularly since America's entry into war and the alarming increase in this. Special courts deal with child offenders, and made world famous by Judge Lindsay, who presided over the Denver Children's Court for over a quarter of a century. The importance of this work is best expressed in Judge Lindsay's words : "I had begun merely with a sympathy for children and a conviction that our laws against crime were as inapplicable to children as they would be to idiots. I soon realised that not only our laws but our whole system of criminal procedure was wrong. It was based upon fear, and fear with children, is the father of lies. I learned that instead of fear we must use sympathy, but without cant, without hypocrisy and without sentimentality. We must first convince the boy that we were his friends, but the determined enemies of his misdeeds, that we wished to help him to do right but could do nothing for him if he persisted in doing wrong."

America is dotted with many noted institutions for social work such as Hull House at Chicago started by Jane Adams, the Henry Street Settlement and Greenwich House in New York City, which have now become world famous institutions. The Greenwich House is situated in Greenwich village, the romantic part of streamlined New York where artists are supposed to seek the muse in its ancient precincts and remote quietness. The charm of Greenwich House lies in its atmosphere of intimacy and the cosiness of its hearth around which the members foregather. There is a nursery school which has been mainly equipped by the Parent's Association, the fathers seeing to the carpentry side and paintings of the rooms, the mothers to sewing shirts, frocks, bibs, etc. The nursery school children when they leave, still get the opportunity to come back for the after school hour activities the House provides. There is music,

dancing, clay-modelling, children's newspapers, excursions to parks, play-grounds, museums. In summer, there are camps in the open country. For the little older boys, who are through school and looking for jobs, there are clubs and many social, athletic and educational interests. Sports is one of the special features and it has won and retained championship on several occasions. A swimming pool is a great joy to thousands.

It has educational classes, where foreign languages are also taught. Subjects of public interest are discussed in the "Forum". The music school features concerts where noted musicians sometimes appear. The children's theatre has been a thing of usefulness and joy to many where the children often try to dramatise the stories they hear. Entertainments, skits, and shows also form a part of the House's activities. Very attractive are the pottery school and workshop's handicrafts, including a public vocational high school with evening classes in art.

The health work is all-embracing and covers diverse problems including nutrition and home making with follow-up work in the homes, because personal service is basic to the entire structure. Regular surveys into the neighbourhood's economic and social conditions and study of other local matters of community interest are carried out and recorded for guidance in general and specialised work. These enable the House to maintain close contact with the neighbourhood and help to ameliorate its manifold grievances.

The Henry Street Settlement has also pretty similar activities. The main building is a resident house and nursing centre; next door is the worker's education centre; further down, the recreation centre, gymnasium, club rooms, neighbourhood play house, music hall, etc. The most interesting is the laboratory for study and research. The

Settlement has taken special interest in the housing problem and co-operated in furthering construction of model houses for low incomes.

The housing problem has long been engaging the attention of many, particularly in the larger cities. In fact, the beginning of this century had seen New York blazing the way for other cities by an attractive and enlightened plan of housing, based on a very commendable code of housing legislation. But it has proved a very disheartening battle and far from a success. Reluctant legislators have been pushed into outlawing some of the worst tenements, and insisting upon certain standards of sanitation, ventilation, etc., which has resulted in considerable improvement from what was, though a long way yet from what should be. The New Deal period has seen some model community blocks erected as part of the W.P.A. programme. Each of them has an open playground, a reading room, a club, a hall, and a nursery for children. They have modern conveniences and equipments, little gardens, which are a boon to low income families. Those for the negroes are particularly welcome, as the negro slums are the very worst feature of all the American cities, particularly New York and Chicago.

One of the most interesting and beneficial of U.S. experiments has been in the field of crime. The U.S. has in fact a long history of admirable effort in penal and prison reform. It is argued that society and not individuals should be deemed guilty when a crime is committed. The new ideas of reforming rather than punishing offenders has been gaining ground, although old modes die hard, and police brutality is difficult to tone down. Important amongst the new codes is the adoption of indeterminate sentence and the probationary system. Prisons like Sing

Sing have led the way to drastic prison reforms. What strikes one is the manner of treating every convict as a human being of self-respect. Every prisoner walks erect and carries himself with self-assurance. Each man is taught a trade and there is a provision for a large variety of trades and mechanical engineering. There are also classes for general education. The better educated ones get an opportunity of instructing the less informed. There are sports, recreations, and a theatre where the inmates put on variety shows and dramas. There is a store where they may spend their pocket money to purchase luxuries such as cigarettes, chocolates, ice-creams, soft drinks and the like. The aim is to try to provide them an environment that will bring out the better side of their nature, develop their latent powers and gifts, teach them ways and means of earning a decent livelihood and help them become useful members of society. For instance, Clinton Brewer, a lifer, was paroled in appreciation of his musical compositions and he was able to get a job as an Orchestra arranger.

There is a touching story told of San Quentin Jail in California, where a couple was sentenced to be hanged. No woman had ever been hanged there before and the men prisoners became considerably agitated. So they waited in a deputation on the Governor to express the willingness of one of the men to die in place of the woman so as not to break the fine old San Quentin tradition of not hanging a woman!

Experiments are also being tried in the women's prisons. The most notable one is at Tohachape where the prison is modelled on the lines of a campus (as residential quarters attached to educational institutions are called in America). The prisoners are divided into groups and each is quartered in a House and made responsible for the run-

ning of it. They plan their own daily menu and while they have to take care to keep it within bounds of the prison allowance, they are able to vary it to avoid monotony. Each has a room to herself or shares it with another, which she can fit up and decorate from her pocket money. Usually she is very interested in making it as attractive as possible. They have theatre for entertainments, a club, a library and reading room. Pictures are shown every week. There is also provision for games, sports, etc.

The aim is to provide as normal and home-like an atmosphere as possible, and tone down the horrors of prison life which unfortunately serve in accentuating abnormal traits in the convicts such as criminal instincts, create prison neurosis and the like. A sense of responsibility helps to stimulate self-respect, minimises the feeling of inferiority created by the locked doors and social censure. They are imparted general education as well as special vocational instruction, to fit them out as useful members of society. They have unimpeded, free interviews and although letters are subject to censorship, there are not too many stupid restrictions attached to them.

2

All visitors to the U.S., educationists and laymen alike, say, the U.S. takes education seriously. It is so universal, so varied, that one can't help feeling, quite pertinently, that it is easier to get education in America than food or a job. The Americans have almost an unquenchable desire to learn, to find out things. The U.S. spends $13 billion annually, on education. There are 26 million studying in elementary public schools, 7 in High Schools and a million and a half in Universities and Colleges, which make an impressive array of figures. America has a good tradition for its edu-

cational background, provided by the puritans' love of learning and respect for literature. One of the happy results of the Revolution was the stimulus it gave to the general demand for popular training through free schools. "It is the particular duty of a free State where the highest employments are open to citizens of every rank, to endeavour by the establishment of schools and seminaries to diffuse that degree of literature which is ncessary to the establishment of public trust" said Governor Clarton. Jefferson gave it a basic value when he declared : "Above all things I hope the education of the common people may be attended to, convinced that on their good sense we may rely with most security for the preservation of a new degree of liberty." America has not a national educational system for the whole country ; each of the 48 States has a pattern of its own. This has certain distinct advantages in that it gives scope to local initiative and adaptation to local needs. Federal Funds are, however, appropriated for certain special phases of education, like Home Economics, and federal supervision exercised to that extent. The social atmosphere in educational institutions is encouraging. It has a sense of freedom and individual dignity. It is the typical expression of many assorted people trying to evolve a common factor and forging out the technique of living together harmoniously. Children of all classes hobnob together and "Guy" each other, for it is a social education in itself for children of different economic groups and people with different social and cultural backgrounds to shape together into a common pattern, although the top curve income parents often prefer to send their children to exclusive private schools ; still comparatively there is more mixing. Its social ideology is, however, well stamped to fit the growing people for a *competitive society*—one

of the bed-rocks of what Americans call Americanism. But academic qualification has not the same social value as in Europe or England and an old Harvardian means far less in importance in U.S. than an old Oxonian in England.

An American college differs from a University, in that the former teaches arts and sciences, while a University has professional schools of medicine, law, divinity, etc. There are some puzzling educational centres like Harvard where the original traditional Harvard College still continues, but around it have sprung up the various professional schools to constitute a University. Many colleges like Dartmouth, Amherst, enjoy the same prestige as Universities such as Yale or Princeton.

The custom of munificent endowments which is such a feature of America has done a good deal in advancing research of world-wide importance such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie Institutes.

The technical institutes of a high order and the system of evening classes in every phase of education, bring specialised tuition within the reach of a class of students who could not normally afford it, but who, if they are willing enough to work all day to earn their keep and work all evening to improve their mind and skill, can take advantage of it.

The war, however, brought to the fore the whole question of education in a new light, demanding a different orientation, for it is revealed that all is far from being well even in this God's own country. The Committee on Education and training appointed by the Secretary of Labour at the request of the National Conference on Labour Legislation said : "Grave inequalities in educational opportunity both in extent and quality exist in the U.S. largely because of insufficient financial resources. Many American children are deprived of a suitable education due to lack of facilities

or inability to take advantage of existing facilities. Conditions responsible for the deferment, under the Selective Service Act, of 1,00,000 young men, because they could not meet the fourth grade of educational requirements, cannot be tolerated in a democratic society. Nearly 2 million school-lage children are not attending school. More than 10 million have had less than 4 years schooling, 1 million classified 4 F because of poor schooling. In some States the percentage of men rejected in the draft for lack of a minimum education was from 7 to 10." The National Conference on Labour has in the light of this made some recommendations on the following lines : "The content of education in a democracy be directed towards the following objectives to enable each individual to develop fully his capacities to achieve a maximum degree of independence and stability to be able to adjust to the changing conditions, and to participate effectively in a democratic society. To achieve this goal new and increased emphasis must be placed on relating the content of education to present day economic, social and political conditions and on giving to all children, regardless of economic level, race, residence, or capacity, a broad foundation of general education including general preparations for employment and healthful living. That organized labour be given representation on an equal basis with other elements in the community in the planning of education programmes through membership on boards of education ; that labour take its full share of responsibility for leadership in promoting more adequate educational programmes and participate vigorously at all times in the development of means through which these recommendations can be carried out ; that sufficient public assistance to families and adequate aid to students be provided when needed, to enable children through the High School, and to take ad-

vantage of available school opportunities. Aid to students in elementary and secondary schools should not be on return for work". A very commendable bill is now before the Senate to provide for federal aid to education. The Southern States with the highest birthrate and lowest *per capita* income, spend only 1/3 as much per child as the national average. Negro children in their segregated special schools get smaller grants than the white children. The bill would reduce this injustice by forbidding those States which maintain separate schools to discriminate against them in the use of federal funds. The grants would also be distributed in greater proportion to those States where the income is below national average.

Home Economics is another field in which America has made vast progress. Home Economics is directed by federal funds and action. It is especially concerned with two aspects : The vocational home-making education, executed through the Home Economics Education Service of the United States Office of Education, and the Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Work carried on co-operatively through the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the State Colleges of Agriculture.

The aim of the former is not for earning purposes so much as training for home making which is the natural vocation of most women. So far as the educational institutions are concerned, Home Economics is taught practically all over. These courses cover all phases of life from nursery schools to parent-education programmes ; business enterprises to home-making ; dietetics to cooking ; social welfare and public health to administration. There is specialization in subjects like the Family and its Relationship ; Family Economics ; Food Nutrition ; Care of Children ; Home and Housing ; Textiles ; Home Economics in Busi-

ness, in Institution Administration, in Workers' and Students' clubs. Men and women alike favour these courses as such experts are preferred both by institutions, and public bodies, business houses and administrative departments. It has ceased to be associated with any particular sex or looked upon as more appropriate for women, with the acceptance of educating both men and women for fuller and more effective participation as equal partners in the function of directing life. As scientific knowledge bearing on family life has expanded and brought greater attention to be focussed on it, the need for education in this field has come to be accepted as one of the primary objectives of education itself. With each incoming year, education has become more and more directed towards the solution of the problems of home, particularly as it is the sole centre of experience for a child. Therefore many of the nursery school activities have to be home activities. Through the home the growing child interestedly gains information of the larger world beyond. It is where children show natural tendencies for organisational work, dramatise family and community life.

A new and interesting feature of the war time was the striking increase in the number of girls entering universities. The girls thus outnumbered boys from 1 to 4 to 1 to 9. A new problem confronting educationists and institutions is the increasing enrolment of the war veterans, who are not easily adjustable to the academic life. For while they lack academic qualifications, they are undoubtedly more mature, better informed and more experienced than raw new comers.

The growth of the nursery school has been by leaps and bounds. Beginning with children of families on relief, today they have expanded to take in pre-school children from other families, and run into over 1500 with 3400

teachers. The schools have an all day programme, in which health habits are stressed, and include careful medical tests. Side by side, classes for parents, (fathers and mothers) are conducted on health problems, management of children, preparing equipment for the schools, general social contacts, etc. Home Economic students in High Schools and Colleges generally use the nursery school for observation study. For girls who are not going on for higher academic courses, training as others' helpers is given, which consists of experience as assistants in nursery schools, hospital care of infants and observation at clinic work for behaviour problems, study of growth and development of children. Similar courses are also given in emergency programmes for girls under the National Youth Administration. Special buildings for observation are the modern feature of Universities, where all activities of the children indoors may be observed through one-way vision screens, with a separate observation for each room, so that the students may come and go without entering any of the rooms and leave the children unaware of the observation. There is an earnest effort to understand the child better and make for greater family happiness.

The Home Economics teacher in an elementary school organises her programme in various ways, to assist the children in group activities, plan build stores, groceries, markets. The teachers even try to make them understand how wages are earned, who builds the houses they live in, how public health measures are carried out. In the upper grades, regular classes are offered to develop specific skills and techniques for the purpose of stimulating home interests and solving family problems; to help cultivate various family functions such as provision and preservation of essentials like food, clothing, house decoration.

In the High Schools, there are unified as well as separate courses for boys and girls. Interchange of "boys' and girls'" classes is also followed when boys get the inside knowledge of the "feminine" domestic sphere and the girls get familiarised with home mechanics, industrial art etc. There is an attempt to centre the class experience around the family and community, entrusting them with greater responsibility and managerial experiences, and instruction through practice in the value of money and other relative values.

Home economic enrollment has increased so rapidly in colleges,—the number has doubled between 1934 and 1940,—which proves its obvious popularity. It is felt that this kind of study brings greater personal satisfaction, and therefore, more harmonious adjustments in day-to-day life. An added attraction lies in the belief that it provides a greater variety of employment of cultural interest and also because of the significance that is being attached increasingly to education as preparation for home-living. Elective courses, which are also gaining in popularity, are being offered to college students to cover the same field for those who don't go in for the entire Home Economics course. Active research in this field claims many students. Home Economics also figures in adult education programmes and is mainly centred round adjustment to problems of the day as it is increasingly realised that educating the adult is not the same as instructing the youths, and that the approach has to be different. The relation of home-making education to family life is the key note of home-economics, for problems of individuals vary according to their economic and social status, age, and other personal factors such as marriage, widowhood, etc.

Co-operative extension work in Home Economics and

Agriculture is 30 years old and is unique as a system of education in farming and home-making for rural men and women. Through it clubs for the rural youth are organised. The home making programme devotes itself to helping farm families achieve a greater degree of health and well being. The work is directed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture through the State Agriculture Colleges and is financed by Federal, State and local funds, and carried out by some 1,00,000 extension workers serving over two million women and four million farms. These work with rural families in small communities and try to reach each family. The participation of families is purely voluntary. They meet the groups to study and discuss under the Extension Workers' Guidance, how to better the home, food, clothing and general conditions of living. Demonstrations are also held for this purpose.

In recent years, the benefits of science and their application to rural areas had added considerably to rapid improvements. Whereas in 1934 two miles of electrical line was built to serve 17 families, in 1937, 1,00,000 miles were built for 2,00,000 farm homes which were able to enjoy electricity for the first time. Constructing or remodelling of houses is another useful project. Thousands of homes have been provided with improved kitchens and living rooms and installation of water systems. All this goes hand in hand with instruction on the use of modern appliances, their quality, cost, care, furnishing and beautifying of homes, etc. Education in family economics, money management and consumer problems regarding food, nutrition, clothing, is imparted, also ways and means of supplementing incomes. Campaigns with slogans like "make your part of the world beautiful", "bring about interesting changes and benefits to the rural parts of community", are popu-

larised. The Americans don't accept that education ceases with the termination of the scholastic career. It partly accounts for the youthfulness of the people. Here is an instance. Mrs. Hagget, down in Washington having nothing particular to do when she retired, decided to get her graduation, got it at 78 and went on to secure the Master of Arts.

Literature has also been making its own valuable contribution to the campaign for a less corrupt life and greater social justice. Beginning with the startling grandeur of Walt Whitman, emerged a galaxy of writers, who stood for the abandon of inhibitions by the "Repeal of reticence," John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemmingway, William Faulkner, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay; there are the long series of masterly expositions by Upton Sinclair, the satirical close-ups of Sinclair Lewis, the master-pieces of John Steinbeck, the ponderous realism of Theodore Dreiser, the unique originals of Eugene O'Neil. The great depression directed these master-minds towards understanding the underlying forces of our present structure of life. Though the theme is the same and as old as man himself, it is made to quiver as freshly mined metal and flow with the vivacity of quicksilver. A great feature of American literary life is the library movement. It is a monumental edifice in itself with its numerous and vast public and private libraries. The circulating libraries are almost elemental, the way they are able to carry reading matter to the very door of the people in the remotest comers where the real America lives in the scattered homesteads, the unending stretch of prairies, the isolated farms, the far-flung ranches away from the main road. Thus the rural population dwelling away from the exciting march of events is able to keep up with an electrically propelled world, retain its interest in current events and pre-

serve its mental vigour.

The two biggest and most effective mediums of general education are the radio and the films. The figures for radio sets are somewhere in the neighbourhood of 30 millions, served by about 800 stations, three of the services having a national hook-up. The radio programmes are typically American, exciting, provocative, full of surprises and very original, though the standard may not always be as good as one would wish. But when one lives in the high tension of a sky-scraper, breathes electric currents and flies through the stratosphere, the programmes have to be high-powered too. Scripts are not always prepared and submitted except for national hook-ups. In the smaller local stations many items are extempore. The radio is popular as people prefer to *hear* more than *read* the important events of the day. The entire nation listened to Byrd's story of his flight over the South Pole. In the pre-war days the major radio concerns had each a correspondent in all the important cities of the world, from where they broadcast every day the main news-items, and instead of reading the paper in bed, you merely tuned in to any of the major net-works, and the voices came from Berlin and Rome, Paris and Prague, Singapore and Tokio. These men worked at the microphone to the last during the blitz and the American hearts stood still as they echoed the marching feet of the Nazi occupation troops entering Paris and shivered under the tragic breathless silence as the radio went dead. They heard Mrs. Harriman, the American Minister to Norway, bid farewell to that unhappy country. In short, these few men dramatised for the entire nation the blitz and total warfare.

The radio is a big industry with about a billion dollar investment bringing an annual income in the neighbourhood of 80,000,000. Mass production of standardised sets has en-

abled the radio to come almost to every home. One of the interesting features of the radio programme is the informal discussion of public questions. It is very realistic and refreshing, for it is often quite extempore. There is the broadcast of the New York Weekly Town Hall programme, where the speaker is called on to answer a number of questions on the topic of the day. There are various "round table" discussions on the radio sponsored by newspapers, universities, or public organizations, in which leading people and experts on various subjects participate. Another interesting feature is the broadcasting of big conventions, where you listen to real debates instead of formal set speeches. Public leadership has now to seriously take into account the radio. The leader's success depends not sd much on a photogenic face as on a radio voice. It is said that a good deal of Roosevelt's success can be traced to his radio voice. The radio is far easier to win a cause with than the press, for it is more universal and persuasive. Even lost causes revive when they are put on the air. Personalities like Father Coughlin might never have become so legendary, were it not for the radio. Music and drama, literature and oratory, which were once the rare and exclusive privilege of only the few who could pay for them, are now brought to the home of the poorest and the humblest through the radio. Never before could the classics either in music or literature be popularised as now through this grand instrument, for the symphony and other musical concerts which are invariably broadcast, are universal favourites with radio fans.

But to anyone interested in the radio as a social force, the American radio is a disappointment. The poor social quality of its content, its anti-labour bias, its reluctance to espouse unorthodox social causes, are all disconcerting. A

special feature of the American radio is the commentator. He corresponds more or less to the newspaper columnist. The commentators are almost shapers of thought in a sense, for by their daily comments on men and events, they are continuously moulding national thought, tinging it with their own favourite shades, giving it direction. Commentators like Raymond Gram Swing or Walter Winchell are hot favourites followed by others like Elmer Davies. Their commentaries are popular because the average man has little time to cull and collect all the news and events put out in the course of the day, and even less inclination or energy to study, weigh, evaluate and draw conclusions, all of which each commentator does for him. He also simplifies for the benefit of the laymen, technical and specialised topics, like military news and unravels the complexities of international politics. The radio is thus a talking newspaper with features the latter can never hope to present, together with its improved scope to act as a superadvertising agency. There is as much attempt at selling goods on the radio as selling ideas, and almost any one can buy air-time for propaganda as buy newspaper space. Radios reap heavy profits from business advertisements. WNE of New York for instance grosses more than a million dollars annually by selling time for advertisements. In fact its most devastating feature is the commercial advertising. Advertising is an all-round and all-high boom in the U.S. at all times ; not only because of the public's susceptibility to its lures, but also because several concerns prefer to throw large sums on advertising rather than pay it in taxes. The radio is one of the most popular advertising mediums. As a result, time available for non-commercial programmes gets beaten down to the barest minimum, almost to the vanishing point, and is allot-

ted the least advantageous timings and which command the smallest audiences. As the sponsored programme is entirely a matter between the advertiser and his agent, any means which seems good enough goes. The radio station on the other hand is only too obliging to be able to squeeze out as much money as possible out of the advertisements. At times as many as 4 commercials in a row try to sell 4 different products, a technique known as hitch-hikers and cow-catchers. Sometimes there are no fewer than 3 commercials in a 15 minute programme.

American ideas of indecency are as strange and inexplicable as its racial prejudices. So far as the radio "morality" goes, American regulations are even narrower and more absurd than the B. B. C's Mother Grandy. Even harmless and natural terms like pregnancy, scabies, eruptions, phlegm, pimples, pus are banned, and their mention even most inadvertently would land the speaker with a two years' sentence or a fine of 7,500 dollars or both. So although there is no official censorship as such, their prudery strikes one as foolishly prim. But it is explained as an answer to the ridiculous lengths to which advertisers went —as for instance to a soft background of violins murmuring the Moonlight Sonata, the advertiser for a laxative whispered : "Darling, if nature forgets, take—'s yeast;" or coy women announcers broke into musical croons describing intimate physical symptoms of constipation, to lively dance music. Still this influx of prudency makes no sense to any reasonable logical mind.

Television is still in its infancy although it has already come into use and some of the public events have been telecast. Considerable research is being carried on and further improvements are envisaged.

American pictures and Hollywood have become so sy-

nonymous that outsiders rarely realise that Hollywood is anything but representative of America, that the majority of Hollywood pictures do not portray American people or life, that they are often fantasies produced mainly to create an illusory world that has no corresponding reality ; that the pictures are meant to serve not as a stimulant to thought or social consciousness or an awareness of the world around, but rather as an escape from a tired and unpleasant reality. Nor does the world know that America produces pictures other than the Hollywood ones, mostly in the form of educational and decumentary films which, though few, are most excellent and which should not only be known to the outside world but be also sought by it, even though some of them may be local and topically very American. Education implies the sharpening of social awareness, a keener sensitiveness to the social content of the community of which we form an integral part, and gathering information and co-relating it. The film is one of the most ideal vehicles for this purpose. And although the film has been eloquently vocal in many spheres, as a teacher it has remained mostly dumb, so negligible have been its exploits in the field of education. Some of the larger universities produce their own pictures. The American Film Centre in New York has done yeoman service both to the film industry as to the general public, through its promotion of very valuable productions. It is a non-profit corporation devoted to the creation of films of educational value and carries on by enlisting financial and educational sponsors for the purpose. It attempts to bring before the 80,000,000 film goers who mostly feed on Hollywood pictures and imbibe unreal and completely false sense of values, the real America which is rarely seen in the ordinary pictures. It also encourages production in wider educational fields and promotes a fuller use and appreciation

of such films by schools and social organisations. The Centre operates in co-operation with established producers but does not produce or exhibit films itself. It assists museums, schools, clubs and social centres, to secure the related pictures through committees of specialists created to guarantee the educational quality of films. Each committee concentrates on its own special subject, and the productions range from a one reel film to a major feature. The Centre endorses the pictures ; helps to place them ; gives consultation on script and editing ; surveys the entire field concerned to mark off the ground already covered and tap potential resources.

It publicises such pictures through film libraries, government and private educational and welfare agencies and the like, and through publication of newsletters, catalogues, etc. Through the affiliated International Film Centre, it helps an interchange of similar motion pictures between America and other countries. Here are a few of the specimens : 'Cover to Cover', telescopes the history of the written word from the Hieroglyphics down to the modern age ; 'ZOO BABIES', packed with information about some unusual babies in the Zoo with furs and fins and their ways and habits. 'Fingers and Thumbs', shows the miraculous biological transition from past to present, from the fish to the mammal. 'Getting Your Money's Worth' is most useful guide to purchases, how tests can be made before you actually invest on an article, to find out its soundness etc., in which shoes, milk, cars and all manner of articles are treated. 'The Disinherited' show children in slums ; 'Enough to Eat' tells what correct diet is ; 'Today We Live' deals with unemployment and its horrors ; 'People of the Cumberland', depicts the harrowing misery of farmers grappling with bad lands ; the struggle of workers to win the right to

unionise ; and hosts of such very excellent pictures covering a wide field.

Then there are films produced by Government Departments : The Agricultural Department's "Vanishing Herds" to plead for the preservation of wild life. The Education Department's "A Year of Contrast", "Land of Liberty" showing the historical drama of the U.S.A.

There are a number of medical films. The American Society for the control of Cancer, has a remarkable film on this deadly disease which is said to rank second in the cause of death. "A New Day" shows treatment of Pneumonia. "Let my People Live" deals with the subject of Tuberculosis, particularly amongst the Negroes ; " They Live Again" on Diabetes. Practically all of these are in colour and sound. There are countless others dealing with almost every conceivable subject, and it seems as though every single department of a State and of the Federal Government, not to speak of local bodies and Municipalities, have picture exhibits. Very intriguing and of practical value are the ones which treat the problem of petty cheats defrauding customers through false weights and measures, and how a State like New York fights this pest.

Equally valuable and thought-provoking are the pictures produced by the March of Time, some of which find their way abroad.

Then there are the commercial pictures portraying various phases of American Industry which rather staggers one's imagination by their colossus. 'History and Romance of Transport' by Chrysler Corporation ; 'City of Sight' by Edison Consolidated (Electrical Corporation) ; 'Colour Song', on Cosmetics by Coty ; 'They Discovered America' by Greyhound Bus (Story of a honeymoon couple, touring the U.S. in a bus) ; 'Around The Clock With The Cues'

by the National Biscuit Company ; 'Micky's Surprise Party' a Walt Disney's animated Cartoon showing the use of packaged goods. These are some amongst many such pictures.

New attitudes towards the film, however, have been shaping out through the war and affecting even Hollywood. As a rule Hollywood would regard the feature film as a fantasy and the producer feel little obligation to society's problems. Therefore the content of the pictures even where topical themes were used, was determined mainly with an eye on box-office success ; and then the facts nearly always got twisted or misrepresented, for it was a make-believe any way.

Now with the war and the war pictures has come the slow realisation that every picture is a social document. For the first time the significance of the content is impressing itself. It has also brought with it the realisation that the conventional time-worn portrayal, for instance, of minority groups was no longer workable. The Negro was obviously something more than a pathetic domestic servant, that the Indian and the Mexican needed a deeper study and appreciation as a man, before presentation. Foreigners were no more peculiar aliens, they too were members of a recognised society.

The change is bound to be slow for it has still to fight the set attitude of big business. But the new social awareness seems hardly likely to die away with the war. The workers have organised themselves to plan for the peace time. The Writers' Mobilization, for instance, will function as a cultural centre for writers interested in social and political affairs and for exchange of ideas with other nations.

The genius of Walt Disney is revolutionising films. His unique innovations are opening up undreamt of possibilities in the screen. The introduction of Fanta-Sound, is

as important as the introduction of sound recording for the screen, for it brings music to us in its most natural form. The Disney technicians in collaboration with R.C.A. overcame the mechanical limitations of the old method of recording, and succeeded in designing a revolutionary system of sound reproduction which gives a directional and third dimensional effect. In Fanta-Sound the audience hears the music of a great symphony orchestra with a new, rich realism as at an actual concert. These artists have opened up a new field for the interpretation of music in terms of colour and picturisation and they are confident that this new medium will stimulate the great composers, to new forms of expression, known as seeing music and hearing pictures. The music does not come just from the screen as of old but from everywhere, as in a hall. The audience cannot help turning round and sideways as resonance comes sweeping up and boils into the rear of the theatre. This cine-symphony where musical sensations are translated into visual images, leaves one literally gasping.

The social importance of musical motion pictures lies in its ability to carry the best music to millions whom it would not otherwise have reached. Motion pictures have ceased to be mere entertainment. Artists like Walt Disney are trying to make them a source of mental and spiritual aspiration. In Fantasia we have eight musical pieces translated into colours and pictures on the screen, and the music itself rendered by the famous Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Leopold Stokowski.

Fantasia is not merely a technical masterpiece but also an artistic achievement of a superb order. By Disney's magical touch, things of purest fantasy and abstract concepts take form and become real. We discover things normally unseen by the naked eye : why the flowers and the

leaves glisten when the sun shines on them ; the drama which goes on beneath the surface of a stream ; how nature tinges everything with her coloured brush ; how even thistles and thorns are not always what they seem. The American Academy of Science highly commended the picture saying, it did more for science, showing extinct animals animated back into life, than all the museums and books could ever do. This gives an enhanced value to the production. We have here, recreated for us, creatures we see only in the skeleton such as the dinosaurs, sea-serpents, flying dragons. They are actually made to live and breathe and move before us as they once did when the earth was still very young. This picture is recognised by creative people as surpassing in technique, imagination, power and freedom of conception, anything which the animator's art so far had realised. The total bill for production reached the all time top high—two and a half million dollars. The new sound mechanism is so complicated and expensive that even in the U.S. only 12 theatres at a time can be equipped with these new grades for Fanta-Sound. The R.C.A. Sound Equipment Manufacturers figure that it will not be long before the smaller towns can have access to Fanta-Sound.

Far less known abroad are the American drama and stage though dramatists like Eugene O'Neil, the Nobel Prize Winner or Robert Sherwood are popular and highly esteemed. American drama has shown rich variety. But the American theatre has not made any such splash as the theatre movements in England and Ireland, nor such original and revolutionary innovations as in Germany or Russia. The fast strides made by the films, their obvious popularity and cheapness, has handicapped the stage. Moreover, Hollywood invariably draws away the best writers, actors, singers, etc. Every stage success goes on the

screen and thereafter the drama comes to an end.

In New York, however, the stage still more than holds its own. The crowded houses bear ample testimony to the popularity of the drama. One has to book seats for the theatre days ahead, and if the show has won popularity, even weeks ahead. But then the drama is very concentrated in cities, except in the summer when the players go on the road and play in little towns, sometimes in quaint converted barns in the more distant places.

The left groups have found the theatre a very fruitful ground and the workers run shows of originality with skilful themes. For instance the Revue put on by the Ladies' Garment Workers (a very big and powerful union in New York) called "Pins and Needles" was a work of superb art with a valuable social content. Its song hits made it the most popular show of the season. Another similar Revue which became an equal rage was "Meet The People" by the Hollywood Theatre Alliance. Produced on the west coast it later travelled East and Midwest with unprecedented welcome, reversing for once the normal route, the proud east going west to show what a show should be! This time the West had come East and when it hit Manhatten, even the very sophisticated New Yorkers sat up and saw that West had as much talent as the East and what is more, it had come to display it in its very bastille,—New York City. They got dazed when the cast came down the aisles in the first act, shaking everybody's hand to "Meet the People". And nerve-wrecked New York thrilled to the magical vitality and fresh warmth the touch transmitted. It opened its eyes and its ears wide when it heard that the smart actresses possess not only oomph, but a mind as well, that they think as well as they look! Even Chicago which insists strictly on getting its money's worth, agreed it got

more than the chip's worth. This unusual success was no accident. It was the inevitable result of a combination of many factors, chief of which was the seizing of the need for real drama to meet the hunger of the people, by a group with considerable experience in this line. The goal of their organisation was the establishment of a permanent, democratic, non-profit theatre to serve the cultural and educational needs of the community. It states in its aims :—"Attaining the ultimate goal of establishing a civic centre for the cultural development of the theatre, its allied arts and the audience it serves ; and utilising all profits for educational activities, acquisition of buildings and facilities, and the greater expansion of the work and influence of this organisation. The Members shall not obtain pecuniary profit or gain to themselves by reason of their membership."

One other theatre experiment, greatly mourned, for it is no more, is the Federal Theatre, the creation of the unemployed artists under the W.P.A. auspices, and is now one of the many happy memories the regretful Americans sigh over of the good old days of the New Deal. Amongst the stimulating cultural projects inspired by the New Deal to provide opportunities for work and expression was, in the words of Harry Hopkins "a free adult, uncensored theatre". It literally picked artists off the streets, slums and relief rolls, thousands of these play-wrights, actors, singers, dancers, designers, stage managers, puppeteers, lighting experts and scores of others, and rehabilitated them, fused new life and hope into their withered frames, and polished and brightened their rusted talents.

This group appeared in almost every city. For the first time millions got a chance to see a good drama or revue done by first rate people. It absorbed 12,000 workers, gave 63,728 shows to over 30 million spectators in three years.

But the result is better evaluated in terms of the great cultural upsurge this led to. The Federal Theatre represented the nation. It did not bar minorities or discriminate against colour. It became a powerful voice in safe-guarding the ideals of progressive democracy.

It had been encountering opposition from the start because of its very progressiveness. The storm broke over the production of the living newspaper "Ethiopia" and dashed on the rock of Sinclair Lewis's intriguing book "It can't happen here", showing how Fascism does not necessarily come in by frontal attack but is more likely to sneak in from the back door in the form of a sudden silencing of free voices. It made a gala opening in 21 theatres throughout the country playing a total of 260 weeks, to hundreds and thousands of people who flocked to see how dictatorship threatens a country. Then the free voice of the Federal Theatre was suddenly silenced by a Congressional Act. It had committed the unpardonable sin of showing on the stage, poverty and hunger, depression and unemployment, satirised dictatorship, examined the history of labour relationship, the plight of poor farmers "Ploughed under", corruption in politics, the scandal of public utilities, in short showed up all the un-Americanism which lurks like a grim shadow under the tall skyscrapers and across smiling fields and over the proud shining highways. Obviously it was "Uncensored" and thereby paid the price. One can't do better than sum it up in the words of Miss Flanagan, who directed this short-lived project, which started as theatre, continued as a battle-field and ended in a slaughter. This is what Miss Flanagan says : "The significance lies in its pointing to the future. The ten thousand anonymous men and women, the etcetras, the-so-forths who did the work, the nobodies who were everybody, the somebodies who be-

lieved in their dreams and deeds, were not the end. They were but the beginning in a country whose greatest plays are still to come." One can but say *Amen* to that.

That social problems have an irresistible appeal to the people is evidenced by the popularity of pictures like Grapes of Wrath and plays like the Tobacco Road, the latter a dramatisation of the poverty stricken southern people, the Poor White Trash as they are called. It had a run for seven and a half years in which it played 3180 times, the longest record in history for any dramatic performance. It toured 300 towns and cities, had 150 return engagements and became almost legendary. What is more even at the end of these many years, Hollywood still found it glamorous and shot a picture of it. It is still going the rounds like old Johnny Walker and, who knows, may become a national institution.

America's contribution to modern architecture too has been unique. A special problem was created by the necessity for economising ground space, in the highly congested American cities. The obvious solution was to go skywards, hence the invention of the sky-scraper, a building revetted securely in a metal frame and employing brick or stone merely to afford privacy and screen off the weather. The skyscrapers present a lovely picture with their unique lines of exquisite grace. They are very expressive of American genius, of their proud defiance, and symbolise the vigour of this Young Nation's titanic energy to venture and experiment, moving testimonials of their audacious powers of construction and remarkable engineering ability. Truly did the great Mexican artist Diego Rivera exclaim to America "Your engineers are your artists". Along with this, out of much chaos and drift, has come the sustained effort at city planning. Now over a thousand city-municipalities have their

planning boards to safeguard health, pleasure and general welfare. Parks, tree-lined boulevards, recreation centres, are becoming the common features of every city. A most ambitious and long needed project is of slum-clearance, much talked of since 1817, at last taking shape through a Housing Bill now before the Congress. Testifying before the Senate Housing Committee, the National Housing Administrator stated that tuberculosis among children is 73% higher in over-crowded houses, typhoid 73% higher, infant mortality 6 times as high, death rate 10½ as high, criminals 15 times more—so the figures keep mounting up like an endless spiral. The Consumer's League of New York reveals through its investigations that hundreds of families are crowded together in filthy camps, some huddled together even in converted horse-stalls—often an entire family forced to sleep cross-wise on a single bed! The Housing Bill provides for an annual expenditure of $110 million for governmental subsidies for the land cost and aiding low-rents. The rural programme provides for houses by local housing authorities for tenants or owners, to be certified by the Department of Agriculture, payments to be made on a sliding scale dependent upon each farmer's income.

In the cities the municipal housing authority can buy up whole slum areas and develop them as a whole unit with schools, hospitals, libraries, parks, play grounds etc. If land is sold to private builders at less than what the city paid for it, the Federal Government will make up the difference.

New innovations in architecture are one of the features of the post-war period. One such is the Guggenheim Museum of Non-objective Painting, designed by Frank Wright, known as the Daring Dean of modern architects. The

judgment of some experts is that it will outdo any other building in the world in bizarre appearance. But in the words of its designer it will be the first building ever conceived in the form of a true log-arithmic spiral, (descending spiral, widest at the top) a "steel basketshot with concrete." For the outer covering of the building will be winding bands of seamless concrete and glass, rising 100 ft. At the top the structure will project 24 ft. beyond the ground level building line. The interior of this huge upended cone will consist of a continuous gradually rising, gradually widening, ramp picture gallery ¾ mile long. A great glass dome will top the last wide spiral sweep. Here are some of its special features : it will be automatically suction-cleaned of clothing dust and shoe dirt. Pictures may be hung unframed, because the temperature and humidity will be held constant at all seasons. The building will be fire-proof, earthquake-proof, storm-proof, "virtually indestructible by natural forces." Designer Wright contends that his Museum will be the most ideally suited structure for the display of pictures for "art will be seen as if through an open window." A three-foot wall recession will keep the pictures safely out of the reach of the public. The museum will include an observatory for the study of the cosmic order, and a globular film theatre with cinema-projectors in the floor, the films being thrown on the ceiling and viewed by the audiences lying in reclining chairs. Taken all in all it sounds more like a picture from the 21st century.

Equally remarkable are their engineering feats, bridges and dams, incredible achievements of daring courage, not to speak of extraordinary skill, ability and industry that has few equals. Air-minded America is proving as daring in the air as on the ground. The New York airport at

Queens now under construction, will have 12 landing strips to accommodate landings at the rate of 6 planes a minute, 360 every hour. The 9 story tower-terminal and 6 story Administration buildings will house 40 thousand employees. There will be 7 landing platforms at which 90 planes can take on and discharge passengers simultaneously. Daily 900 trips will start from the airport to various parts of the world.

This energy and drive also express themselves in research, planning, surveying in every phase of life from the personal to the national and international. Every institution, from a bank to a club, has a research section with an expert. Surveys and monograms on almost every aspect of an activity are available. For the post-war period even retail shops have planned in detail for extension and improvements in the way of new fixtures, esculators, air-conditions etc. The Department of Commerce and the National Planning Association have prepared blue-prints for small business. During the war a great many scientists had been mobilised for war purposes. A Committee has now been formed to pursue studies at the direction of the President, how best to utilize war-time research for peace-productions, and the role of the government in aiding these functions.

Every effort for community betterment receives to an increasing extent the support of some sections of the church or churchmen. One sees a growing disposition on the part of organised religion to sponser progressive ideas and movements, and espouse the cause of the dispossessed. Several of the denominations have social service commissions and welfare agencies. As far back as 1908, the Federal Council of churches anticipated the coming social waves by declaring labour's right to advocate (a big stroke for America

at the time) a living wage, shorter hours, social insurance ; etc. ; it denounced child labour, condemned the sweat system and in general demanded "the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property."

The World War I gave a further push to those trends. In 1919, there was a demand for genuine democratisation of industry from some Protestant and Catholic Church groups alike. A noteworthy result of this realistic attitude on the part of the churches, has been the move for the ironing out of the religious differences, leading to many happy mergers of various sects ; for the greater emphasis on human needs diminishes to the faintest, abstract theological differences. The reduction of wasteful denominational wars means more accelerated activity in the social field. Another hopeful sign is the subsiding of the fear of science as a threat to religion, as religion is being allowed to be tempered by the mellow touch of rational thought. In recent years, especially the post-depression decade, certain sections have moved more towards radicalism, especially among the younger men, who participate actively in social movements. Some churchmen help for instance in the organisation and struggle of the share-croppers, which is one of the boldest and challenging acts in the reactionary South, where it so often means facing persecution and even terrorism.

Various church fronts such as the Y.M.C.A., Temperance Societies, Church-Peace organisations, take comparatively a more liberal line and are usually found in alignment with progressive bodies.

But the colourful laughter of the nyon lights is not heard everywhere, their burning colours do not light up all the country. Many spots are yet left in gloom. The lighting up man is slow and chary. Time is swift and the wait is long. The world watches for the unlit lights to go

up, for the dark crevices to be flood-lit, for the lingering gloom to vanish ; it waits for the Great Christmas Eve, the blaze of myriad colours that will herald the coming of the real Peace, to drive out the money-changers and clear the temple and give it back to the people, heal their lacerated hearts and their own limbs, that men and women may love one another again and live in goodwill towards each other and realise that the kingdom of heaven is here, eternally in the heart of man like an unquenchable nyon light.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DISINHERITED

The Amer-Indians, as the American Indians are called, are no longer the "Vanishing Tribe," as symbolised by the famous painting "The End of the Trail", nor the fanciful bogeymen, "The Wild Men with the Feathers" who do war-dances for the delectation of the tourists, the last pathetic remnants of a great people. The trend towards extinction is a thing of the past. The population has been on a steady increase and at the present moment the Indian birth-rate is almost twice that of the U.S. white population as a whole. From 2,70,000 at the turn of the century, they have gone up to 4,00,000. In all the Americas, the total is around 30 million. In 1930, 42% of the total Indian population was 16 years of age, while 31% of the whites was of the corresponding age. It was predicted recently by the Directer of Population Studies at an American University, as reported by Science Service, the "Indians in the U.S. are now multiplying so rapidly that by 1980, the country may confidently expect to have as many Indians as when Columbus landed in 1492."

Although numerically they are not a dominant factor in the U.S.A., culturally and politically they are of enormous importance : for as John Collier, the former U.S. Commissioner for Indian Affairs, pointed out, this small population bears an important relation to the future of democratic institutions in the Western Hemisphere.

Their past gives them a position of height and stature, which is quite out of proportion to their numbers, and which

indeed speaks volumes for their high qualities. Today the U.S. is proud to claim them, and many an American takes as much delight in tracing an ancestral line to this ancient enemy as to the Mayflower crew. It is said that somewhere before 8000 B.C. these people had found their way Eastward to Patagonia and had according to a Government Report on Indian Affairs: "proved to possess the highest capacity for adaptability and rapid social evolution, while at the time, they displayed marked tenacity in holding to ancient types, physical, social and psychological." It then goes on to point out that even the essentially dictatorial and repressive policies of the U.S. towards the Indians, enduring for more than half a century, "were not effectual in destroying the local democracy of the Indians or even in fundamentally modifying the Indian types and Indian institutions."

Variety may be assigned as the chief characteristic of the Indians. There is no such thing as a standard Indian type, really speaking. They range from high cheek bones, straight noses, thin lips, to round faces, full lips and broad noses. Equally there is as much variety in their clothes as in their dwelling houses.

But to get a grasp of the Indian problem and appreciate the great role of these people in the U.S. national life, one must glance over the civilization they had built and the way they patterned their life, before the white men crossed their long ancient trail. The country may be divided into the northern and the southern region, the former of the higher elevation, a country of table lands, and the latter a region of plains. These two developed two strikingly different cultures. The culture of the plains was intimately associated with the buffalo or bison.

It is customary to accept the political divisions of the

Indians into tribes of independent nations, each tribe composed of small units each under the leadership of a chief seconded by a few headmen. Thus while the Crow or the Black Foot or Arapaho, each recognise several sub-divisions, the members of each main group feel they are one people and support a council of governing body for the whole. Each sub-division is a band or a clan with a chief and followers. They inherited their membership mainly through the mother or in the female line.

The clans were named after the elements, sun, sky, cloud, moon, earth, water, fire, etc. ; after birds and animals, and after coveted objects such as cotton and tobacco. A picturesque trait of the Plains Indian Culture was an organised camp or circle, with a fixed place or order for each clan, generally enumerated sunwise. At the centre was a council tent, where the governing body met, and at symmetrical points was the Tipi, a conical tent covered with dressed buffalo skins, for dwelling. The Tipi was set up and cared for by the women. The fire was built near the centre, the beds spread upon the ground around the sides. The head of the family sat near the rear or facing the door. Besides Tipis, which were used mainly by the roving tribes, earthen houses formed permanent villages, as also the grass-lodges, each consisting of a dome-shaped structure of poles, thatched over with grass and given an ornamental appearance by the regular spacing of extra bunches of thatch.

The building sites they usually chose were among mountains, in the caves over-hanging cliffs, as they afforded general protection and effective defence against emergent situations. They were built in rectangular or semi-circular form around a court from which they were terraced back toward the outer wall. Some of them had hundreds of rooms. Many of the villages were placed at the tops of

mesas, the head of the Canyan, the walls of which were steep enough to give protection. Located in the court-yard, generally below ground were the Kiwas, peculiar circular rooms used by bachelors and those who had discarded their wives, and where no women were permitted. A fire-pit was usually found near the centre.

Each clan was supposed to be under the special protection of an ancestor from whom it was supposed to have descended. Maternal relationship was considered very intimate, and no marriage could take place within that orbit of relationship. Among many groups matriarchy prevailed. Women had equal rights and were entitled to a share in everything, sheep, goats, crops, except horses. They also had a voice in the general affairs. The Seminole Squaw family was based solely on maternal lineage. Their camp consisted of the woman, her daughters and their children, and unmarried brothers, female first cousins, and even the more remotely related women. For all women belonged to one clan, the marriage being consummated by the husband going to the wife's camp, and the divorce effected by the man simply moving out. Marriage was typical of the pastoral people, for a man could marry as many wives as he chose, as marriage usually meant an extra hand for the farm and production of household commodities, for there were neither servants nor slaves. On an average, each had about three wives. The commonest tendency was for a man to choose girls from one household, for the possibilities of quarrels were thereby minimised. The first wife was, however, considered the head, the others subordinate to her. They had a curious custom of preserving the naval cord in an ornamental pouch, hung round the neck or tied to the cradle. A man was given various names at different periods, one at birth, another at adolescence, and a third on per-

forming a meritorious deed. But this was not observed in the case of women.

They indulged in a great many rituals like all tribal people and employed in these ceremonials, dramatic, graphic and pictorial art. They had special observances at attaining adolescence as also during illness, when a special man supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers sang songs and chanted at the bedside. At death, the body was painted, wrapped in a robe and in some places placed in a scaffold in a free open hill, for few were buried underground. Even now they show reluctance to do so as they entertain a fear that the spirit in that case may have great difficulty in its passage to the other world. Great veneration was maintained for the dead ancestors. It was believed that the dead would rise, and so amongst those tribes who went in for burial, food and clothing was left at the burial place for the use of the loved one, when he or she rose from the grave again. Amongst some, like the Pueblos and the Navajos, cremation was practised.

Their political organisation was very interesting. Each group recognised a certain number as headmen, one or more of whom were formally vested with representative powers in the tribal council. Amongst some, there was a society of the older men to legislate on important matters and four were appointed to carry out executive actions. Among the woodland people, confederacies of different groups and tribes, like the celebrated Leagues of the Iraquois, existed. The tribal council was a legislative body, and it was sometimes permanent and sometimes elected annually. The Governor was the village representative and the head. The war chief needed years of training and grooming through the performance of arduous tasks, fasting and praying. He was looked upon more or less as a

king and a mouth-piece of the Divine Being. He was the honoured and privileged one, his wants being supplied by the village and his fields cultivated by the villagers. He appointed the village civil officers as well as his own successor. Then there were men's societies and fraternities of a military and ceremonial character. Amongst some, the various societies were arranged in series much in the order of going from grade to grade in an educational institution. These groups had each its own ritual and dancing functions, around such incidents as the harvest and the war. Women's societies also existed, with their ceremonials which were supposed to have the efficacy of charms. Boys and girls had to go through severe tests before they could be initiated into them, for a strong character was the hallmark, and it was felt that only through severe discipline and training could it be built up. All of these societies constituted a sacerdotal group.

Their private property was very simple and truly personal. It consisted of horses, food, utensils, weapons and implements. There were no private-owned lands. Social position was not determined by the weight of possessions, but by lavish generosity and the giving away of things freely. There was no aristocracy of wealth and blood, only of brave and humanitarian deeds. In war-like deeds there were grades. "Coup" or the touching of an enemy or the capturing of a horse was considered higher than killing the enemy. It was customary at feasts and public gatherings for men to formally enumerate their deeds, and on their strength, bid for posts of honour. These valorous deeds were recorded in picture-writing on the buffalo robe or on the sides of the Tipi. The honoured positions were indicated in a person by a special way of wearing the feathers in the hair, the decorations on the clothing of the

horses and the like.

Morgan, who has so minutely studied the primitive community manners, in his last and important work, describes the methods of hunting and fishing practised among the Redskins of North America :—"The tribes of the plains, who subsist almost exclusively upon animal food, show in their usages, in hunt, the same tendency to communism. The Blackfeet, during the buffalo hunt, follow the herd on horseback, in large parties, composed of men, women and children. When the active pursuit of the herd commences, the hunters leave the dead animal in the track of the chase, to be appropriated by the first persons who come up behind. This method of distribution is continued until all are supplied... All the members of the tribe encamp together and make a common stock of the game obtained. They are divided each day according to the number of women, giving to each an equal share." When the savage ceases to lead a nomadic existence, and when he settles and builds himself a dwelling house, the house is not a private but a common one. "The Indians", says Heckewelder, "think that the great Spirit has made the earth, and all that it contains, for the common good of mankind ; when he stocked the country and gave them plenty of game, it was not for the good of a few but of all. Everything is given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters, was given jointly to all, and everyone is entitled to his share. Hospitality with them is not a virtue, but a strict duty. They would lie down on an empty stomach rather than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick, or the needy. They have a common right to be helped out of the common stock ; for if the meat

they have been served with was taken from the wood, it was common to all before the hunter took it ; if corn and vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but that of the Great Spirit.

"The Iroquois who formed a household, cultivated gardens, gathered harvest, and stored it in their dwellings as a common store. For example, the corn, after stripping back the husk, was braided by the husk in bunches and hung up in the different apartments ; but when one family had exhausted its supply, its wants were supplied by other families so long as any stuff remained ; each hunting or fishing party made a common stock of the capture, of which the surplus on their return was divided among the several families of each household, and having been cured was kept for winter use."

The Indians of Laguna village (New Mexico) had common stores. "Their women, generally have the control of the granary," wrote Rev. Sam. Gorman in 1869, "and they are more provident than their Spanish neighbours about the future ; they try to have a year's provision on hand. It is only when two years of scarcity succeed each other that Peublos, as a community, suffer hunger."

But among the Iroquois each household prepared the food of its members. A matron distributed food from the kettle to each family according to its needs ; it was served warm to each person in earthen or wooden bowls. They had neither tables, chairs, nor plates, nor any room in the nature of a kitchen or a dining room, but each ate by himself, sitting or standing where it was most convenient to the person, the men eating first and by themselves. That which remained was reserved for any member of the household when hungry. They had neither formal breakfast nor supper ; each person, when hungry, ate what-

ever food the house contained. They were moderate eaters. "If a man entered an Iroquois house," says Morgan, "whether a villager, a tribesman, or a stranger, and at whatever hour of the day, it was the duty of the women of the house to set food before him. An omission to do this would have been a discourtesy amounting to an affront. If hungry, he eats, if not hungry, courtesy required he should taste the food and thank the giver."

"To be narrow-hearted, especially to those in want, or to any of their own family, is accounted a great crime, and to reflect scandal on the rest of the tribe," says another student of the primitive manners of the American Indians. "A guest was held sacred, even though an enemy. "

Buffalo robes were commonly used for public appearances, and except for the decorations there was no difference between men's and women's apparel. But on the whole, women used more clothing than men, and did up their hair in two-braid fashion, long tresses being in favour. Amongst some, especially the nomadic ones, buckskin clothing was also in vogue. It is said that there was a time when men also lengthened their hair. Usually no head-dress was used, the feathered head-dress being the privilege of only those who had distinguished themselves. Light gay-coloured blankets, scarfs of otter and other fur, were commonly used.

Jewellery specially wrought was popular. The metal work was done by pounding the material on a small anvil with an ordinary steel hammer, a small forge with billows to melt, soften and cast into moulds. The hammered pieces were then decorated by stamp designs with steel dies which they prepared themselves. Ornaments inlaid with turquois in mosaic designs and shells were in vogue more among the women.

Each tribe had its own myths and beliefs, many of them common to several, like the story of the deluge, where the submerged earth was restored by a Being who sent some sort of diving animal-bird for the purpose. Heroic tales of adventures and animals were also a common heritage.

A sign language with hands and fingers was in extensive use and was used even in inter-tribal confabulations and was the channel for the diffusion of culture. Amongst some tribes the entire community went in for cultivation, mainly maize, corn and also wild rice. They were well versed in irrigation and used it on a large scale. They also fed on beans, wild berries, fruits, and edible roots. In between the cultivating seasons, they hunted. The nomadic ones went in for wild vegetable products, corn and beans.

They excelled themselves in industrial as well as decorative arts. Spinning and weaving was exclusively a male art and was sometimes part of a ceremonial. Every bridegroom had to weave the trousseau for his bride. The decorative arts were mainly executed by women. Even articles of every day use were ornamented and embroidered by beads and quills and hides painted over with certain geometric designs. The use of the raw hide for binding was almost unique. They specialised in making bags, particularly of cloth finely embroidered, and were experts in colourfully painted baskets and pottery. They made their brushes from porcupine tails. They were particularly noted for their pipes.

Their genius for painting and carving was striking. It was mainly a symbolic art. For instance the semi-circle stood for the cloud, the zig-zag for lightning, vertical lines for rain, etc.; colours and numbers were also symbolic. These symbols made their expression conventional. But

this did not detract from their aesthetic value or effect. There was also religious or symbolic art. Heraldry devices were worked out in the Tipi on dance shirts, etc. but solely by men.

Originally, before the coming of Christianity, they had recognised a super-natural being, a controlling power and then a series of other beings in descending order, forming a regular hierarchy, in which the sun came at the very top, earth coming next, with moon, wind, thunder, lightning, rain following in succession. Then came the inferior beings of the lower order such as the buffalo and the bear. The aim of each man was to try to establish some kind of direct relationship with the supernatural being who would then appear in the form of a human being or animal, in response. But an intermediary in the form of a priest was required for this purpose. Then the man retired to a secluded spot and waited for the divine vision.

Birth, marriage, death, all were marked by elaborate ceremonials typical of an agricultural community, and corn figured in everything. When a baby was born corn meal was put to the lips, corn ears were laid beside it for the 20 days lying-in period, and corn was strewed towards the sun when the baby was blessed. At marriages amongst some tribes, corn meal was exchanged, the bride made to grind it and the main ceremony consisting of breathing upon the corn and throwing it towards the sun uttering prayer. Their ceremonials were marked by dances : the sun-dance in mid-summer when the dancer gazed at the sun all through the dance ; the ghost dance, the war and scalp dance when the scalp or any other part of the foe was carried home after the war. The women danced around it singing, to celebrate the victory. It usually extended over a day and a night, and was interspersed with prayers and handling of sacred ob-

jects. There were dances round a fire in a circle in which the men led, assisted by the women. A small square of fresh earth between the leaders and the fire was marked out upon which symbols were made by dropping dry paint.

Since pre-historic times, mask-making has been a great art on the American Continent. These early inhabitants carved huge, fearsome but intensely lively faces out of wood and wore them in religious dances to frighten away evil and diseases, and sometimes for entertainment. These masks represented various gods and supernatural creatures playing certain parts in the rituals. Bodies were also painted at certain ceremonials, a special paint being used for each occasion, and a lighted pipe passed round, with ceremonial movements. The instruments used at such functions were the rattles, drums, and whistles.

These children of the Americas were a brave people who gave long and stiff resistance to the white invader. Even to this day, there are tribes who do not recognise the white man's supremacy, and evade any direct contact, like the Seminoles in the South. Their subjection proved far too shattering an experience for them. When their lands were forcibly wrested from them, it was like taking the prop from a blind man's hands. It literally cut the ground from under them. They fared like all their kind in the other Spanish colonies of the New Continent. They bent and broke in the mines, they withered and perished in the plantations. Hunted and persecuted, they fought and resisted, as long as they could. When they could not, they dropped and sank. What hurt them even more than the loss of their lands, was the ruthless devastation of their soil. Possessed by an overpowering greed for more and more, the new settlers began to bleed the rich warm earth, whose every single vein they knew, to whose every single tremor their hearts quivered in

unison. The sight of their lovely gardens turning to dust, struck the iron deep into their heart. The impact of the new civilization and their inability to adapt themselves to it was their crowning tragedy. As a historian appropriately puts it : " It was the very virtues of the Indians that led to their being extirpated, specially their animism with its harmless poetical myths." The conquerors fired by greed and fanaticism, betrayed a cruel vein in their dealings with these ancient people. William Prescott the historian, describes their fate with a moving understanding and genuine pathos : " The American Indian has something peculiarly sensitive in his nature. He shrinks instinctively from the rude touch of a foreign hand. Even when this foreign influence comes in the form of civilization he seems to sink and pine away beneath it. Under the alien domination their numbers have silently melted away, their energies broken. They no longer tread their mountain plains with the conscious independence of their ancestors. In their faltering step and meek and melancholy aspect, we read the sad character of the conquered race. Their civilization was of a hardy character which belongs to the wilderness. Their fierce virtues were their own. They refused to submit to European culture, to be engrafted on a foreign stock. His outward form, his complexion, his lineaments are substantially the same, but the moral characteristics of the nation, all that constituted its individuality as a race, are effaced for ever."

1933 ushered in the New Deal with its " Realist " spirit. A new hand moved by a new spirit, now came to be laid on all affairs. Men of imagination came to the desks and the dry files began to glow with human vision. Out of this came the New Indian Policy, a desire to restore to these, the disinherited, at least a sense of dignity and self-respect,

if not their heritage, by giving them some chance of building up their own life.

The modern streamlined life had struck them as a blight strikes vegetation. Diseases unknown to them were now eating up their tissues. Strange vices racked their beings. Bewildered and lost in this fearful maze, they succumbed, easy victims, as moths to a flame.

So they had first to be isolated from this devastating environment. They were driven into special areas reserved for them. Here they are now confined, a little sad and weary, but with a chance to be on their own, nevertheless. Nearly three million acres have been restored to them, and economically it is a great restorative, for they love the land and with infinite care and understanding they labour to wean it back from the dust and barrenness, to health and fruitfulness. But the land is still insufficiently productive or sometimes non-productive, being mostly desert and mountainous, over-grazed pasture lands, eroded fields, and open spaces washed clean of every blade of grass. A recent official report in California says: "Of the land on 132 small reservations and rancheries, only 5% is of any value for agriculture, grazing or timber. On the vast Navajo reservation, a tremendous part of the land is semi-desert and water is scarce."

Public opinion has largely veered round from the old view that Indians are shiftless, ne'er do wells, a decadent and dying race. One of those who has contributed most towards this change is John Collier, himself an Indian, who recently retired after 18 years as Commissioner for his people. After a long desperate battle, he and his people got their first break under the New Deal, and obnoxious laws in the making, such as for mass conversions of Indians and opening of their lands to squatters, were arrested. Instead the

Reorganisation Act was adopted in 1934 in the teeth of fierce opposition from rich lumber men and ranchers threatened with the loss of their leases. Under this Act the Indians could establish their claim to their tribal holdings, 91 million acres of which they had already been cheated out of; moreover each reservation could if it so desired, incorporate its business affairs under a federal charter. That this has had some beneficial effects is proved by the fact that the Indian's income is up by 30% and death rate down from 28 per 10000 in 1930 to 13·5 in 1944. There is also an increase in the population since 1900 from 237,000 to 377,000.

But that there are heavy cobwebs still is proved by the Supreme Court's latest opinion on the Treaty of 1863, under which the Indians claim $15,000 compensation for the loss of the recognised Indian title to 15,000,000 acres of western land. The learned judges admit the claim (they can't but as the Indians owned the entire country originally) but deny the compensation on the ground they had no concept of private property and therefore owned none. "Ownership to them meant no more than the right to roam the land....to possess and enjoy it in the same way as they do sunlight," state the Justices. "Acquisitiveness which develops the law of real property is an accomplishment only of the civilized," is the parting shot of the Supreme Court wise-acres. The Red Natives' claim to be called "Civilized" may be disputed, but hardly the treaties the white conquerors made with them. Admittedly the Indians were not "civilized" enough to pin up "Keep off" sign boards on the ancestral properties conceded to the enemy under the treaties, and of course the enlightened arrivals took whatever land they could in their "civilising" stride.

Education of the Indian children is also being re-

oriented. The older policy of weaning children away from their old culture and all things Indian, to draw them into the amazing whirlpool of modern life, which resulted in so many unhappy upheavals in body and mind, is being replaced by a finer understanding and appreciation of this ancient civilization ; by a realisation that it has a significance not only for the development of the Indian but the American people as a whole. A genuine effort is now being made to revive this fading flower and restore to it if possible its lost bloom.

For to the Indian child as to the white, home and family are of primary importance. As the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy aptly pointed out: "The child has food and shelter if his family has a home and provides food. He is content and happy if he is well, if he has parents and others to love and be loved by." But measures for safeguarding and developing the Indian child must begin with a deep and genuine understanding of the pattern of Indian Social and Family life. In a tribal group family ties are very powerful and the child's entire being integrates far more into the domestic circle. Its family intimacies are greater for its individuality is weaker and more indefinite. For instance it would be a common experience for a tribal child to call all the men around "father" and the women "mother". Likewise the terms "brother" and "sister" include cousins of first, second, third, or even the fourth degree. In other words, relatives form a closely knit unit held together by strong ties of mutual affection and loyalty. And on the whole, while physical foundations have weakened and the artistic and cultural forms deteriorated by the impact of a strange and alien influence, the family ties are comparatively little loosened and the family solidarity little impaired.

Indians are sometimes pictured as having comfortable allotments from the Federal Government under treaty rights or through other tribal funds; as a matter of fact, such assets are extremely limited. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs states: "Aside from a small amount for the relief of aged and indigent Indians, no money has been appropriated since the beginning of the century for the unearned use of able bodied Indians except an insignificant loan fund in fulfilment of treaty obligations. It is estimated that 1,40,000 Indians are without independent means or support and need to be assisted through some form of work relief or direct relief."

By 1933 Indian land holdings had dwindled to about 48,000,000 acres, and almost two-thirds of the Indians were landless orphans or had land too poor in quality to provide them with a living. Whilst most Indians were very poor, quite a few were on relief, for their major problem, that of land, had assumed giant proportions. Indians are described in Commissioner Collier's report as losing, on an average, 2,000,000 acres of land each year between 1880 and 1930 with the result that about 1,00,000 Indians were left without any land. The economic and social effects of this condition were far reaching, for the whole culture and the local institutions of the Indians were founded upon the possession and co-operative utilization of natural resources.

Some progress has been made in placing the Indian family on a more secure foundation. Approximately three-fourths of the Indians are in tribes that have accepted through a referendum vote the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, which institutes reforms in land policies, establishes credit and loan funds, and encourages self-government for Indian tribes. Under the land acquisition programme, more than 4,000,000 additional acres have been made available

for Indian use since 1933. Yet this is only one-sixth of the estimated land needs of the Indian population. Soil conservation and irrigation projects, conservation of timber resources, agricultural extension and Civilian Conservation Corps Projects (the Indians engaged on such projects live, for the most part, in their own homes), and rehabilitation grants to Indian tribes and groups for housing and resettlement, have accompanied this programme of land acquisition. Thus many of the programmes for the relief of the unemployed and especially of agricultural distress, which have been developed for the general population during the period of depression, have also been applied to the Indian population. This has been done within a framework adopted to indigenous economic and cultural systems and with democratic participation by the Indians in the determination of local policies and the administration of local programmes.

Indian housing, on the whole, falls far below the general standards laid down in civilized countries. Most Indians live in areas where it is difficult to obtain raw materials for home construction. They lack funds to purchase imported materials. Under the Indian rehabilitation programme new or repaired homes have been provided for a meagre 7000 Indian families. Experience under this very limited programme has nevertheless shown what may be done toward meeting the housing needs of families in a group that is probably the most inadequately housed of any in the United States.

Indians are eligible, on the same terms as other citizens, for public assistance and for social insurance benefits under the Social Security Act. However, few have qualified for old age and survivor's insurance benefits, and unemployment compensation, because for the most part they are not engaged in industrial pursuits. Surplus commodities are

available to Indians and individual Indians have been employed by the Work Projects Administration.

On October 1, 1939, 1817 families of Indians and 4125 Indian children were receiving Aid To Dependent Children. In some States, the proportion of Indian children receiving Aid To Dependent Children is somewhat lower than the proportion of white children. The average monthly grant per child as of the date cited was $4.78 in Oklahoma to $12.83 in California.

Few accurate statistics concerning maternal and infant mortality among Indians are available, but both mortality rates and the incidence of disease are known to be high. As reported by the Bureau of the Census the infant mortality rate per 1000 live births for Indians was 128 in 1936, more than two and a half times the rate for white infants (47) and considerably higher than the rate for Negro infants (78) in the same year. Property, overcrowding and lack of adequate resources for medical care are important contributing factors. Tuberculosis is prevalent in all tribes, with the possible exception of the Seminoles in Florida who have kept themselves severely away from the modern man and his hectic life. Trachoma, diseased tonsils, and venereal disease appear to be prevalent, though considerable progress is being made in combating them.

Indian children live, for the most part, in communities where resources for health supervision and medical care are extremely limited. The Division of Health of the Office of Indian Affairs maintains and has general supervision over 12 sanatoria and 86 general hospitals in the United States and Alaska. Dispensaries and out-patient offices are provided in hospitals and outlying areas. Maternal and child-health activities and services for crippled children which are carried on in all the States with the

assistance of Federal Funds under the Social Security Act, are being extended to Indian children. Education of Indian women with regard to the value of pre-natal and post-natal care is resulting in increased hospitalization of maternity cases; in fact 80% of the Indian mothers are now delivered in hospitals. The Office of Indian Affairs has given co-operation and financial assistance in the development of general public health and maternal and child-health programmes for which the United States Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau are responsible. Special demonstrations of particular value to Indian children are developed in some places. In many instances, however, isolation, language difficulty, and other circumstances make it difficult to meet the health needs of Indian children on an equitable basis.

The task of educating the Indian child is to introduce him to a new culture without destroying the old. It is said that there are about 200 Indian languages or dialects in the United States. Very few speak or understand English. The shift from boarding school to day school education that the children may live and grow in their own environment, though by no means complete, and the increase in school attendance, are both encouraging evidence of progress in the new Indian policy. But many Indian children of school age, particularly of High School age, are not in school.

The application of the "enrichment programme" for the education of Indian children in some States like Oklahama is one of promise. Under this, Indian children are received in public schools on the same basis as white children, this right being guaranteed by the State Constitution. Tuition for Indian children is paid for from Federal Funds, one-half being allocated to an "enrichment" fund which must

be used by school districts for improving educational facilities, particularly for the purchase of equipment, supplies, library books, and so forth, needed in modern education. White children as well as Indian children have benefited greatly by the "enrichment" programme. Considerable encouragement is being given to the Indian arts and handicrafts. The Government has taken a lead in their revival and development, and their lovely embroideries, jewels, baskets, pottery are growing very popular. Indian children cultivate in the modern Indian schools the finely-wrought silver craftsmanship, the delicate moulding of clay into beautiful forms; learn trace the ancient lines into vivid pictures and ply the loom into multi-coloured designs.

In many respects, the present day children of these ancients still tread the same worn-out path. The core of their culture is still intact, their way of life still continues to trace the broad outline of the traditional pattern. They still dwell in their old type houses, the picturesque reed-woven lodges favoured by Kickappos, or the sturdy dwellings preferred by the Pueblos or the conical ones chosen by the Navajos. Even their modern habitations model on the honey-comb terraced community dwellings, rising in a kind of pyramid. These constructions are of abode, brick-clay mixed with straw and water moulded in rectangular forms and dried in the sun. They are built by men and women together, for while men lift the walls, women plaster. Where the old houses are used, the large rooms are converted into club and recreation rooms, and used also for ceremonial purposes.

The old style of community hunting under a war chief is not possible any more due to scarcity of forests and game, except rabbit-hunting. In wearing apparel, skin and leather has been replaced by cotton and wool, and the jewel-

lery now includes beads and glass. Marriage regulations have relaxed as the clans have gradually contracted. They still cling on to their ceremonials, especially the dances, which are a very vital part of their essence of expression. But now these dances are often celebrated in honour of the patron saints at festivals, when the images from the churches are brought out and placed in elevated places in the plaza. The happy mean has been struck after a long feud between the church and the people, the former with its rigid bigotry and unimaginativeness and the people with their simple beliefs and pantheism. Ritualism was their breath; in denying them this natural expression, the church sought to deny them life. They had to languish and get stultified or revolt. The very instinct for life led them to the latter, and life triumphed. So the rituals and the dances go on, some public and some private, and some performed with masks on.

The snake dance is the most exciting and live snakes mostly the rattles, are caught for the purpose by snake priests, and confined in potteries. Wooden images of the two war gods, with a panther in the centre, a snake on each side, and a frame of four coloured bands each supposed to represent the earth and the four cardinal points, are erected in the Kiwas. Holding the snakes the snake priests keep on smoking and blowing the smoke towards the altar. This is followed by elaborate ceremonials for several days. At the dance, the priests move in pairs, one holding the snake in the mouth, the other holding a whip, with which to soothe the snake if necessary. As the dancers move down the plaza, each snake is dropped while a third priest comes along to pick them up. Then the head snake priest makes a large circle of corn meal. Into it the snakes are thrown in a heap, while women sprinkle them with corn meal. At a given

signal, the snake priests grasp as many as each can control, run down the trails and release the snakes. There is the flute ceremonial which is characterised by playing on long flutes, while prayers are offered at a deep spring by a priest.

There are special dances for women. Some for instance carry large wooden slabs with the symbols of clouds and ears of corn, painted on them. At some dances darts are thrown at netted wheels and basket trays are waved in the hands of the dancers. In others, gourd rattles are carried in the hand, and tortoise shell rattles tied to the knees, and the dancers move forward slowly, timed by the rattles. There are fire drills when a new fire is lit. There are dances in spring for a good crop, there are dances in autumn for rain. They have competitions and races when the winner is pelted by food. The honour of winning is however, not claimed by an individual but by the entire community.

The South and South-East of America is a wonder world in itself, the environment shot with fairy-colours, resplendent sunrises and magical sunsets, the velvety purple nights, frequent rainbows, alluring mirages, the shimmering noons. These are vividly depicted in the song, in the pictorial art and the poetry of the people of these lands. And so these sad-eyed wistful folks disinherited of their country, and their dearest possession, the land, seek solace and inner contentment in poetry and song. Their shattered dreams and the dreams to come, flow out in rhymes. They sing pretty tilting songs shot through with lovely imagery. Here are a few fragments :—

" House made of evening light,
House made of dark mist,
House made of female rain
House made of dark cloud
House made of pollen

House made of male rain
The trail of it is dark cloud.
The zigzag lightning stands high upon it.
May it be beautiful behind me
May it be beautiful below me
May it be beautiful above me
May it be beautiful all around me.
Happily with abundant dark clouds may I walk
Happily with abundant dark showers may I walk,
Happily with abundant plants may I walk,
In beauty it is finished, in beauty it is finished."

These lyrics give us a picture of their poetic souls, their rich imagination, their yearning for beauty and their close kinship with nature. They tell many pretty tales and heroic lores, of the "great and glorious" bygone days. To preserve this fine spirit, to maintain their close bonds with nature, to cherish their own peculiar genius, should be U. S. A.'s special responsibility. To achieve this, programmes for them should aim at making the general resources available to serve most fully and appropriately, the needs of the Indian population, and develop such services as are necessary to meet problems peculiar to their culture and situation; offer each family opportunity for self-support, and a living adequate to meet the necessities of life. The gains of the past must be conserved and extended if their genius and the principles of democracy are to be cherished. Modern man has much to learn from the ancient. It is said that when the constitution of the U. S. A. was to be framed, the young turbulent men of today sought counsel of those silent men of yesterday, for they had much to give, much to teach. Their varied groups, clans and tribes, like many shades in a picture, had learnt to blend and form a rich design. For the mighty silences of the mountains and the profound hush of

forests had taught them many a great truth, that where man forgets to fraternise with man, he perishes, that man must learn to live in peace with man and nature alike if he would survive. So there in this far off land, while it was still the "unknown, undiscovered" continent, men had drunk at deep founts and drawn philosophies from the land and woods and trees, and from their own rich lore laden with the wisdom that comes of deep experience, and built up a real League of Nations, an actual meeting point for all problems to be amicably settled. Modern man has still to rise to that stature and achieve what these ancients did, for they had a profound philosophy of life, codes that held a sense of sanctity. Those moral standards are no more. Life has grown profane, its bloom has shed. When the ancient man lost the race against superior weapons of destruction, the modern man lost the race for life, and men shall always lose the race and become the "disinherited" so long as they make force their heritages and not moral values.

CHAPTER IX.

THEY HOLD THE PURSE-STRINGS

When women first emerged as a new force after the close of the World War I, America was held up to us as the land of women, the country where women ruled, ran the homes and held the purse strings, the Mecca of women who thirsted for opportunity and power. Even a man like Swami Vivekananda came home greatly impressed by the women of this continent and with many admirable tales of their doings. Visitors to that land found women everywhere. Their support ensured the success of any cause. Above all, they seemed to possess more money and what is equally rare, a greater readiness to spend lavishly on anything they took to their heart, than women in any other part of the world. In fact the American woman with her fat and ready purse, soon became the symbol of that country, the sponsor of lost causes and supporter of worthy ones. And although American women may have ceased to be legendary, they have not ceased to be important factors in their country's affairs. To a new comer the country seems over-run by them, for they are all over the place; and though they do not exactly run the country (very far from it) one somewhat gets that impression. This becomes all the more incredible when we dip into American history and find that their position a century ago was vastly different. In fact without a review of that back-ground one cannot evaluate their courage, industry and achievement. So we shall begin with a historical survey and mark the many milestones of their unique march.

The pioneer woman helped to break and harness a wild-bucking young continent. Nevertheless the American Revolution founded on equal rights for all men interpreted that term strictly in the narrow sex sense. Even the rights these women had enjoyed by implication if not by practice, in the colonial days such as franchise, (although no woman brought up under the shadow of the severe Puritan tradition would have even suggested the idea of actually voting) were now legally snatched away as State after State enacted laws debarring them from voting. As for their legal status, most of the States perpetuated the spirit, if not the exact letter of the English common law, that a woman was always a *femme covert*. She had no legal rights either in her property or in her children. She could not testify in a court which possessed the right of convicting her. She could not invade the professions. Most social historians accept the statement of Miss Martineau that in 1836 only seven occupations were open to American women. Though this may be somewhat exaggerated, we have no record of women distinguishing themselves in any field outside of the household, (which included home industries) except some stray ones in literature and journalism and in a limited way, business, which too, after all, is as ancient as home industry.

The first shaft that cut across this traditional pattern was the arrival of machinery which by driving essential industries such as spinning, weaving, etc. outside the domestic walls, drove the women out into the world, making the first break in the consolidated social unit. The American rush to the machine was phenomenal. It has not yet stopped. The machine in its wake brought staggering social changes into the American social fabric.

This is what Charles Beard, the American historian,

says on the coming of machinery :

" Science and machine have changed the face of the earth and the ways of men and women on it, and our knowledge of nature and mankind. The whole domain of culture must yield or break before the inexorable pressure of science and the machine. Women perhaps even more than men, find it difficult to steer by ancient headlands. Accustomed by long necessity to functions that conserve life, they suddenly discover that the modes of conservation are multiplied by science and the machine into endless complexity. In the old days a man's work was probably next to the home the greatest single factor in the development of personality. To-day the nature of work has changed. It brings no personal satisfaction. It leaves parts of a personality entirely without exercise ; reasoning processes are rarely called upon to function ; judgment and decision, initiative or originality almost never. Machine is opposed to individuality, it is ruthless, routine, patterned and precise. It has no use for many of the qualities and attributes of man who created it."

The year 1833 marked the first attempts at organising by women into professional groups, trades-unions, temperance societies, clubs, etc., on a permanent basis. Their objectives are of interest for they show their instinctive urge towards larger social causes and not narrow sex interests. The most significant was their first political organisation : *Female Anti-Slave Society.* This was later to lead to spectacular events. This body initiated active steps towards the realisation of its objectives. It memoralised Congress for abolition of slavery, appointed a Standing Committee on schools for coloured children, inaugurated series of lecture-courses to which coloured people were invited, collected signatures to emancipation petitions, and a host of allied acti-

vities. In 1837, came the first national convention of women on anti-slavery. The Convention Hall was attacked by an infuriated mob while the police looked on unconcernedly. But while fury raged outside, the women carried on inside with calm and dignity. And out of this grew the wider emancipation movement, that in course of time came to engirdle the world. Amongst the U.S. delegates to the World Anti-slavery Conference of 1840 in London were three women, who later became the shining lights of the American Women's Movement : Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Pease. The London Conference denied them recognition on grounds of sex. A furious wordy warfare resulted between the Conference and the Women, finally ending in a compromise : The women were not to take part in the proceedings but sit behind a screen in the gallery and listen ! One of the men delegates promptly moved up to where the women were thrust and sat with them, refusing to participate in a conference which had so stultified itself by grossly abusing one of the biggest principles of freedom, while alleging to uphold freedom. We thus find that putting women behind the screen was by no means a purely oriental innovation as the world is led to believe, that it was done in the heart of London in the blessed year of 1840 ! This insulting incident seared the hearts of the three women and laid bare to them the basic disability of women. And as they walked down Great Queen Street that night, they vowed to dedicate themselves to establishing women's rights. 1848 saw the first *Women's Rights Convention*, where a solemn declaration of these rights on the lines of the Declaration of Independence was made. The electric telegraph arrived in America in time to flash this over its wires, making it the sensation of the hour. On all sides it drew fire. Journals attacked it with formidable adjectives and impos-

ing citations from scriptures.

In the meantime, women gained in this period another fundamental right, free speech, where usage and not law had to be broken down. Until about 1830, a woman expressing herself in public (except the Quaker women in their meetings) was unthinkable. Once again it was in the larger anti-slavery struggle that women won this fight. Angelina Gdimke and Abbey Kelly Foster, pioneered in this. The persecution they were subjected to, to us today, may seem unbelievable, a relic of a barbarous age. Clergymen openly called them rebels, servants of Satan, who seduced men to commit fornication! Often none would even hold speech with them. Truly and vividly did Mrs. Foster describe that struggle when she said in an address to the women: "Sisters, bloody feet have worn smooth the path by which you come up here," history made by those "Bloody feet" cutting their pioneer way painfully yet courageously, illuminating the narrow path with the red glow of their blood, nobly shed, deep gashes shearing into the tender flesh by mob-violence, bitter personal attacks from press, platform and pulpit.

Some educational institutions long held out against admitting women. The little education that was there was mostly sporadic. In some institutions after the school gave over, the school master would give an hour and a half instruction to girls. The Quakers were pioneers in this field, their schools educating children of both sexes. In the memorable year 1833, Oberiline College, Ohio, opened an annex, a "Female Department". This was soon followed by colleges for women.

Although women doctors had worked side by side with men on the battle-field, during the civil war, the close of the war found them being pushed back again. They found

the doors of medical colleges literally barred against them by the men students. They were hooted out of clinics and often the police had to be called upon to rescue them. Young men shouted, sang, hooted and threw mud at the classes where women students were admitted! But invariably the women wore them out by their calmness and courage. Finally the fortress of medicine surrendered after a long siege which was as thrilling as it was heart-breaking. Harriet Hunt was the star of this long struggle. Her application for admission into Harward raised a storm. A mass meeting of the students protested and made her withdraw. Eventually when a "Female" college was opened and Miss Hunt along with a batch passed out, they were debarred from the profession and could not even get a druggist to fill their prescription! The medical societies decided that any of its members holding a consultation with a woman doctor would be expelled. They sneered that women could never be properly educated. Much of this prejudice against "feeble feminine intelligence" was no doubt generated by a fear of economic competition, the fact that able women physicians might capture some of their trade, especially with mothers and children. There is a story told of a patient who asked a woman doctor, "Are you a doctor or a lady?"

Although the first woman graduate in law appeared in 1870, the right to practise was as obstinately denied as in medicine and other professions. The statute provided admission for only "any white male person". Evidently the legal profession had never dwelt on the possibility of women entering it. Bar after bar shut its doors in horrified shock "against this female intrusion". The explanations advanced make intriguing reading. "Admission of a female attorney would not be in accord with common law." "Delicacy of female sex would be endangered". "Influence

of women lawyers on administration of justice would be questionable". Even the U.S. Supreme Court waxed eloquent on the natural functions of woman and decried her straying into other callings as a gross violation of the laws of nature, her sense of innocence and sanctity, and revolting to man's reverence for womanhood. Two women gained admission into the church after an equally hard struggle and in 1862, were ordained ministers. Slowly and painfully out of this turbulence and struggle there emerged a new outlook and a new evaluation of sex. The industrial revolution was already at work churning society into swift new eddies and circles, out of which new patterns were rising to the surface. The leadership assumed by the women in temperance work, social settlement and other social reformist movements testified to their changing role in society. The jolts of civil war and the economic revolution which followed, cut them loose from their traditional moorings, driving them beyond the ancient domestic walls.

The "natural functions" of women were being constantly deviated and the home was fast ceasing to be their exclusive sanctuary. By the end of the century some 5½ million women were seen employed in factories and offices. When the telephone arrived, it simply gobbled up women like some mythological monster with a hundred mouths. In manufacturing concerns women found the door yielding swiftly to their touch. It were as though some hidden magic were at work. The machines were full of an insatiable hunger for labour, and cheap labour. 1875 saw the establishment of the first women's trade union, later affiliated to the American Federation of Labour.

Meanwhile the middle class women in the cities finding time hanging on their hands, sought cultural activities, banding themselves into clubs, which as time went on began

to give greater attention to civic and social problems, some becoming later the nucleus for the more militant struggle for equal rights, suffrage, etc. Under the pressure of the high currents set up by the civil war, custom and law discriminating against woman in the matter of inheritance, ownership of property, etc. quickly began to crumble, and by the beginning of the present century, most of the States had given women the right to own and control property, retain their earnings, make contracts, sue and be sued, etc. When the curtain went up on the 20th century, women in America were already installed in most of the professions from which they had been so obstinately debarred. But history was to prove that the battle was only half won. The big fray was yet to be. For political rights were slower in coming. After considerable agitation the eve of World War I found women enjoying franchise rights only in 11 States and a long way yet from federal franchise.

The Equal Rights Association led by the redoubtable Susan B. Anthony which had been waging an unflagging and valiant fight was still closely allied with that other equally unpopular cause, the abolition of slavery. The women believed that the northern anti-slavery victory would bode rapid strides for the progressive elements. The disillusionment was, therefore, all the keener as the women watched amendment after amendment to the constitution granting political rights to the newly emancipated negroes passed but leaving the position of the women untouched. This was but the prelude to another similar betrayal which followed half a century later with the advent of World War I.

This time the setting however was against a different background. Now women were almost everywhere, in institutions, in trades and in professions. State franchise had already been granted in a few States. Only the national

capital remained impregnable. The women continued to storm it. It became as much of a battle ground as Flanders or the Somme. "Women were spat upon, slapped in the face, tripped up, pelted with burning cigar stubs, insulted by jeers and obscene language too vile to print. Rowdies seized and insulted young girls." Thus writes a historian of the Suffrage Movement in the U. S.

The newly formed Woman's Party forged ahead under Alice Paul, with a militant programme, to reduce the Congressional fortress of male conservatism. The women regarded President Wilson, the world's hero of the hour, as the chief culprit in this. For progressive though he was in many other matters, he was unwilling to sponsor or champion federal franchise for women. They burnt his speeches in public and laid siege to the White House and a long and painful siege it proved. On a single day a thousand women circled the President's mansion. Mobs attacked and mauled them, tore their banners, the police looking on in complete indifference. Then came arrests and imprisonment under most revolting conditions. The atrocities they were subjected to, read like chapters from the history of the dark ages.

The pickets next surrounded the Capitol, while in front of the White House a "watchfire" was kept burning all day, in which were thrown ceremoniously all the speeches on freedom that Wilson had grandiloquently delivered at home and abroad. The arrests of these modern "Vestal Virgins" feeding the holy flame, continued day after day. Demonstrations from coast to coast, hunger strikes, spectacular scenes at court trials, all brought the issue to the bubble. Almost in despair the Congress surrendered. After a whole hundred years' struggle the 19th amendment granting women political rights was at last passed.

But the whole battle is by no means won yet, how-

ever impressive the past achievements, America was until recently one of the few countries where a woman held a portfolio in the Central Government. Women act as Governors, Secretaries of States ; over 150 sit in Legislatures, hold posts in the diplomatic and consular services and as Trade Commissioners, not to speak of innumerable minor posts. On the debit side are the disabilities women suffer under discriminatory State laws. Many of them deny married women power over their property and place them under legal disabilities regarding contracts and business. In about one-third of the States, the rights of women over their children are inferior to that of the men. Inheritance Laws still discriminate against women in some States and a few even bar them from public offices. In nearly two-thirds of the States a double code of morals is maintained by law.

How deeply and inextricably the women have become woven into the entire American fabric is best illustrated by the following incident. A one day strike was announced by the women as an answer to those who grudged their entry into the extra-domestic spheres. The effect was electrical. From all sides rose a storm of protest. If such a thing were brought about the entire machinery would have become dislocated. Such a proud achievement is indeed a fitting monument to the selfless service and martyrdom of the early pioneers who dared and braved so much for social justice.

From the dawn of human history women have worked. They produced the essentials of life, cooked, milked, churned, spun, wove, and porformed hundreds of little everyday tasks. They still work today. The coming of the machine has merely transferred the work from the home to the workshop. Many of the machines do but the work women through the centuries had been doing. Yet the advent of industrialisation has not been so simple as that. It has

had far greater repercussions on social life. This is how Charles Beard, the historian describes it : "Machine civilization differs from all others in that it is highly dramatic, containing within itself the seeds of constant reconstruction based on technology, science, invention and expanding markets, it must of necessity change and rapidly. The order of steam is hardly established before the internal combustion engine overtakes it. There has never been in the world an order comparable with it, and all analogies drawn from the middle ages, classical antiquity and the orient are utterly inapplicable to its potentialities, offering no revelations as to its future." As the machines grew they absorbed more and more women and in turn more and more of the home functions found their way into the factories. The women rushed for time, came to depend more on ready-made articles turned out by machines. The machines also provided a greater variety than the home-made products did. With such women their chief contribution to the home became their wages. The men's wages were never adequate, they had to be supplemented in most cases.

Over 11 million women were in employment in the U.S. on the eve of America's entry into the present war, that is two women workers to every seven men. They covered a fairly wide range from textiles, clothing, food, tobacco, leather and the traditional professions, to paper, printing, electrical automobiles and other metal industries. The acceleration of invention, intensive technological changes, the splitting up of machine work into more and more minute processes (150 different operations go into making a shoe) all demand additional workers with delicate and careful touch which the women could provide. They were needed not only for machine-tending operations, but for increased technical services both in the laboratory and the shop for the

organization of management, clerical services and expansion in all facilities for the distribution, sale, and delivery of new and increased products. This resulted in a vast migration from the country to the city, bringing in its wake all the attendant complications. But, in spite of all this variety, by far the largest number are normally in domestic and personal service, and more than three-fourths of all the women are not in any "Gainful occupations", the majority of these being home-makers.

With changed conditions of production and distribution the need for clerical and sales people grew, claiming over two million women as clerks, a million as saleswomen, the telephone absorbing about a quarter million. As more of the work done at home got transferred to factories, the latter began to absorb more and more women, the laundries taking in 1,60,000 and restaurants, 2,32,000.

Women don't work merely to feel independent. Mostly they work because of dire necessity. More than half of all women workers are unmarried but with dependents. Even amongst the married women, a not inconsiderable number are the major bread winners, because of unemployed or disabled husbands or the latter's low wages. It is largely due to the inadequacy of the real wages and lack of land or home industries to supplement, that 28·9% of married women are forced into jobs. They almost equal men in the clerical and are not far behind in the professional. In a radio address the Director of Women's Bureau, said : "The findings of the Bureau have clearly shown after a scientifically conducted investigation, that the majority of the women are so employed because to support a family even at a level of mere decency requires more than what is obtained by hundreds of thousands of wage-earning fathers or husbands today."

Manufacturing and mechanical industries ranked third in the gainful employment of women, including besides factory operations, the building trades and the sewing and other handicrafts, engaging a little under two millions. The increase was greatly in factory operations, and in actual numbers in 12 manufacturing industries like textile and tobacco they exceeded men. Equally noteworthy was their growth in the selling trades, having doubled in the last two decade, the greater increase being in real estate and insurance agents than in store selling. These trade occupations engaged around a million women. In short there were few occupations now in which women were not employed.

In the professions it was almost a neck to neck race with the men, the figure being around two million. The increase is, however, tempered by the fact that it was mostly in the traditional occupations such as social work, teaching, nursing etc. So if we took 16 major professions, such as dentists, engineers, draftsmen, lawyers, surgeons, clergymen and the like, women formed a small proportion. For every ten women employed, three were in domestic and personal service, two clerical, something less than two in manufacturing, something more than one in professions. The remaining two were scattered over many, the largest being in trade and agriculture.

But in spite of everything women up to the present day continued to occupy an inferior position, the skilled and better paid jobs being regarded as the strongholds of men. It has already been pointed out that in many cases women constituted a marginal labour supply and as such tended to be low paid. Moreover the large supply of employable women in reserve in the background accentuated this tendency. Traditional acceptance of women working at house-hold tasks without wages, is another disadvantageous factor. The

U. S. Government has attempted in various official documents, to advocate the maintenance of women's wages at a level commensurate with that of men's. This policy followed up by a minimum wage legislation in several States, shows its seriousness. The Women's Bureau as far back as 1918 laid down the principle that "wages should be established on the basis of occupation and not of sex or race." The Commission on Industrial Relations also recommended the recognition both by public opinion and in legislation of the principle that women should receive the same compensation as men for the same terms. The same principle was enunciated by the War Labour Conference Board : "If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength." Annual earnings however show that women-employing industries pay less than men-employing, women's being only 50 to 60% of the men's wages. The traditional inferior economic status associated with household tasks, still persists to cling. This together with the manufacturer's consequent use of the women's services to keep down costs, mainly accounts for their low wages. At times even a lower scale than that paid to skilled labour is not unknown. Moreover, the evaluation of "skill" is a ticklish problem, and administrators, industrialists, technicians, educators, who have hazarded on this have found it an unchartered sea. No two people ever seem to agree on its exact definition.

Although it is also common to define women's jobs as light and men's as heavy, the definition is misleading, for light jobs sometimes require delicacy and care and a rare skill which a "heavy" task may not call for. Even the repetitive jobs can't be lightly dismissed as merely mechanical as they often demand intense concentration and continuous

application. How misleading generalisations are is evidenced from a wartime survey made of industrial conditions in a plant where women were employed for the first time to replace men, and their output was found to be greater by 64% for metal industry and 20% for the clothing.

Many make wide use of the piece wage system when employing large numbers of women. This generally goes against them not because of less efficiency but because the methods of fixing rates is rather arbitrary or largely influenced by custom whereby women are placed at a disadvantage. Where a fair standard is maintained the women are able to earn as much as men, sometimes even more. Men's wages at the lowest are above women's and show greater variation, while women's remain at a low static level. Women's earnings in factories are below the entrance rates of common labour on new construction and repair where men are paid less as on semi-skilled jobs.

Another factor that tends to keep wages down in certain industries is industrial home work, that is getting some articles or part thereof, done at home. In theory it is commended as enabling women to earn at home during their leisure hour. But in effect, it means longer hours and often sweated labour with little or no protection. The Women's Bureau study found two-fifths of the chief home workers working forty hours and more a week, one-fourth of them 50 and more, and some even 70, all defined as "leisure hour" workers. For it is far harder for an isolated home worker to fight for better wage.

The same woeful fact of lower wages for women is true of domestic as well as professional occupations as every survey has revealed. It is even more regrettably so in professions involving the same strain, expenditure of energy and responsibility. A San Francisco Report on Teachers' Salar-

ies, said : "It is no longer seriously contended that men are better teachers than women merely by virtue of being men, and therefore deserving of higher salaries."

Unfortunately even the Labour Unions continue to accept this position in their agreements. Where a man's wage cannot support a family, a woman's wage cannot support even herself. Pre-war studies in living cost showed 18 to 29 $ as the minimum for her to maintain her health. Yet the Bureau's investigations in 25 industries before the war showed that weekly earnings averaged only 16·22. In some industries, a lower wage, around 11 dollars even was paid. One out of four in knitting industry received less than ten dollars ; one out of five candy workers less than eight. Lower still are the wages for the two million women on farms and domestic and personal services. Society has grown so accustomed to think in set grooves that it often fails to realise the disastrous effect of the lower wage-rate for women on wage scales in general and therefore, on men's wages as well, thereby affecting the entire national standard of living ; and that it is a violation of an accepted social principle, whether the discrimination is based on colour, race or sex. It moreover sets up a vicious circle, for the supply of cheap labour helps employers beat down wages and a low wage rate for men drives women to seek employment on lower wages, and so it goes on.

Very many women moreover are solely responsible for the entire support of their families. More than half, whether married or single give their entire salaries to support their families. One-fourth of all the families have no men wage-earners at all.

In addition, many women are concentrated in industries that suffer from seasonal fluctuations, which means slack work and unemployment, which still further lowers

their earnings. For instance the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union reported that many of their members could find work for only six months and in the Clothing Industry as a whole, employment was for barely forty weeks out of 52.

As Federal Labour Legislation is only applicable to interstate industries each State has however to have its own legislation for non-interstate industries.

With a few exceptions, practically all States have now maximum hour laws for women, ranging from 40 to 48, a few maintaining 60 hours for certain industries like textiles. Most provide eight hour day, a few nine or ten. One has five day week in textiles, others six. Some industries are not covered, and agriculture and domestic service are exempted from State laws as from Federal Fair Labour Standards.

State minimum wage law exists in a good many States, which more or less supplement the Federal Fair Labour Standards Law by covering those services and other industries not covered by the Federal Law. In a recent judgment in a case of violation of the State's eight hour day law for women, the Judge made the following remarks : "Now more than ever, laws intended for the enforcement of social justice must be strictly administered. If inconsiderate business executive great or small, entrenched behind the fortifications of capitalism are permitted to cast at the feet of their employees only the crumbs they are willing to discard, there would be created amongst our citizenry, groups of defeated, suffering, disillusioned, and distracted men and women, who by the irresistible goadings of torturing necessity may be willing to barter their democracy for spurious promises of economic salvation. Let us not ignore the fact, the tears and sweat of the hopeless pour water and fertilise the

rank weeds of Communism, Fascism and Sovietism.

The President said : "If the world is to be a place where peace is to prevail, there must be more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. There are so many millions of people who have never been adequately fed and clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man or woman who seeks a job." This has meant extensive increase in labour legislation. In some States there are complete labour codes, in others incomplete and in a few, none whatever. But legislation is only one of the influences operating to regulate labour conditions, the other being labour's bargaining capacity.

Other protective labour legislation enacted in the States for women, covers industrial home work and provides seats for workers, lunch and rest periods and Saturday rest, prohibits working in mines and night shift. In all about five million have the protection of State and Federal Law. But the two million in agriculture and domestic service are still beyond the pale of these benefits. Equally distressing is the fact that at the outbreak of the war there were around three million unemployed and one and a half million part-time employed.

The war usually speeds up wage earning occupations. Munitions and other war supplies absorb women. In the aviation industry they become almost indispensable. Several results ensue, one higher wages in the munition and allied industries ; two, as the draft takes away more and more men, newer opportunities come the way of women, some of them in skilled jobs and key positions. The training is of value also for often the tools are the same in both war and peace time industry. The illusion of the inferiori-

ty of women is equally dispelled when they are found able to handle almost any job. It is tragic, nevertheless true, that such a fearful emergency should have to become instrumental in ultimately battering down the door of prejudice and discrimination and the price of common justice be so agonising.

Women in gainful occupations are assuming steadily more important positions in economic and industrial fields in spite of differences in locality and conditions. Apart from shortening hours of labour, the minimum hour code has brought increased employment for women which nearly always follows such legislation. In general the demand for women to meet the needs of the growing industrial, educational, professional, clerical services, etc. has helped to raise the status of women, while the growing changes in their status in turn prepares the women to meet the growing demand.

In relation to her household tasks, an industrial age produces many devices for lightening labour particularly domestic drudgery, and simplifying life. These include equipment such as electric stoves, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, sewing machines, and commodities such as canned foods. But unfortunately the great majority of the women are unable to enjoy these benefits as these are beyond their means. On an average, a woman spends about fifty hours in household work per week, 73 in farm homes. A scientific record shows that a woman who produces all the food at home and launders her clothes, produces substantially the equal value of the man's economic contribution in industry.

The Federal Government is equally interested in improving the women's mechanical equipment and provide them with ever up-to-date labour saving gadgets. The Agricultural Department in Washington has a special section

for such research. It also tests, recommends, guides the house-wives regarding the new domestic appliances put out in the market by private companies. Here are some of the latest announcements regarding "Kitchen Front"; a one-wall kitchen combination; a refrigerator with separate drawers instead of a single door, as also with revolving shelves, sterilizing lamps to kill bacteria, ice-water taps, ice-cube efectors, food-freezing compartments etc. A stainless steel heated food-wagon all complete to enable a hostess to serve a hot meal without rising from her seat. An electric garbage disposer, to grind and flush garbage away. A hydraulic dish-water and dish-drier. Push-button machinery to open and close windows.

With a view to maintaining proper health conditions the Women's Bureau has issued instructions based on the results of many surveys. The Women's Bureau investigates and reports to the labour department all matters relating to the employment of women in industry. It is a fact finding agency whose duty is to study the problems and conditions of women workers, to decide by scientific research and investigation the best standards for their employments and make public its findings. Considerable improvements are secured by women through Union membership and Union contacts in industries. Unionised women undoubtedly enjoy more benefits.

Women in certain professions still continue to suffer from discrimination on grounds of sex and marriage. The policy of forbidding married women to remain in office is more general in financial companies than in manufacturing concerns. Various other types of discrimination are practised such as smaller beginning salaries, reduction in salaries, demotion in duties, restrictions in promotions, dismissals for paltry reasons etc.

Thus numerous discriminations still continued to plague women. There was hardly a State which had not some remnant of medievalism in its attitude towards women. The Women's Party had been agitating to remove these last trenches by getting the constitution amended by a simple declaration known as the Lucratia Mott Amendment : "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction." The ease with which women were able to persuade President Truman to recommend its passage to the Congress in glaring contrast to the Wilsonian days, shows the strides women have since made.

There is hardly a woman with any interest in the U.S. who does not belong to one or two women's organisations. The League of Women Voters once remarked : " The country as regards women is rather over organised." They are clubbed into vast organisations with various objects and interests, from professional to aviation clubs. The National Council of Women has a membership of five million ; the General Federation of Women's Clubs is spread over in 27 foreign countries. The national women's organisations cover an infinite range of interests from Plant, Flower and Fruit Guild to the Supreme Forest Woodmen Circle ! Farm and Garden Association ; Women Geographers to Women Osteopaths ; Motion Pictures League to Vocational Guidance Guild. There are also a series of "Daughters" and "Sisters" organisations such as Daughters of the Revolution, United States' Daughters, Daughters of the King, Daughters of Union Veterans of the civil war, United Daughters of the Confederacy, United Order of True Sisters, Federation of Temple Sister-hoods, Big Sister Federation and countless others. Many American women, like Jane Adams have also played a big part in interna-

tional peace movements.

One of the notable chapters in the history of the American Women's Movement is the struggle for birth control. It is one of those strange anachronisms that in a modern country like America, scientific knowledge like information on contraceptives should be classed as obscene by reactionary forces and under the guise of public morals these forces be allowed to thwart legitimate medical work. It needed two-thirds of a century of struggle to remove the federal fetters placed upon womanhood and to get the use of contraceptives legalised. The struggle was as romantic and tragic as any religious crusade. A few courageous women under the leadership of that heroic soul Margaret Sanger campaigned and fought, let themselves be persecuted and jailed under the infamous Comstock Act. This Act sought to pervert a normal medical process into an ignominious practice, and prevented the dissemination of scientific knowledge by a medical doctor, thereby encouraging harmful bootleg contraceptives to be traded by quacks, who swindled and injured helpless women that fell easy prey to them. The violation of this law was punishable by fines from 2,000 to 5,000 dollars or imprisonment for five years or both. It drew no distinction between contraception and abortion, between medical requirements and promiscuity. This infamy continued in the face of a 100,000 annual abortions with one out of every four mothers dying of it, and a heavy percentage of maternity mortality due to excessive child bearing. Gathering medical opinion and the mobilization of social support to this crying need of mothers and infants, brought matters to a head. Dr. Hannah Stone stood a test-trial for receiving contraceptives through the mail and won, rendering the federal law obsolete. The un-

animous court decision was that the Comstock law could not be applied here. "Its design, in our opinion, was not to prevent the importation, sale or carriage by mail of things which might intelligently be employed by conscientious and competent physicians for the purpose of saving life or prompting the well being of their patients" declared the Court. Thereafter birth control became legal under medical direction. Margaret Sanger and Dr. Stone won anew the bill of rights. It is now legal in all but two States. The following year the American Medical Association approved of birth control as an essential part of medical practice and education. It said, "In all cases the legal justification is the medical need of the patient."

Great as has been the contribution of the American women in the past to the cause of women's progress and achievement, they still continue to add to the future of this noble cause. The new trends and orientations visible in the growth and development of the women and in the social attitudes of the American community, in the adjustments on the part of fathers and husbands in the American household are all of immense significance. First and foremost is the training in self-reliance given to every American girl as to every American boy, from early days. America is a nation of middle class. Domestic service being a very expensive item, is scarce, having to compete with the more attractive industrial services with their higher wages, better regulated hours of work, fixed holidays, etc.

The American woman learns to feed and fend herself from early days, and unlike our middle class woman, never feels helpless if thrown on her own. She can cook, wash, launder clothes, make preserves etc. In addition, her modern training equips her with some elementary mechanical knowledge. She can tinker with her car and her radio,

her sewing machine and her typewriter, and not always depend on the mechanic.

The American woman is proud of her home, and particularly her kitchen on which she bestows as much attention as on her sitting room. For the kitchen is her grand show room which sets the tone to her entire household. Usually snow-white, the American housewife takes immense delight in keeping it spotless. Even a speck of dust would mar her natural pride in it. The American kitchen is the loveliest of kitchens in the world. It is the result of years of research and experiment on the part of experts. It strikes one as a kind of combination of an operation theatre and a living room. It is constructed with scientific precision and appropriately equipped with a host of labour saving devices. It is designed to give the housewife a sense of spaciousness and freedom and at the same time, save her unnecessary movement of body or limbs. Thus everything is handy around. It is not unusual for the hostess to display her kitchen to the guests and glow under the well deserved compliments.

The American woman is a very excellent housewife, who runs the house in a well ordered, clean and systematic manner. She is a total denial of the silly baseless theory that an educated modern woman is undomesticated and futile as a householder. The American woman takes her household duties as seriously as a doctor her medicine. She takes special training in how to run the house, cook and care for the children for like all America, she does not like taking chances with amateurish experiments. America is the land of professions and it swears by scientific training, whether it is to run a house or an office. There is nothing amateurish about a newly wed girl who sets up a home. She has had early training in home-making and later at some home

economic institute. She can give just the right touch to her apple pie as to the bed-room fittings. There is something efficient and thorough about all she does. She is economical and avoids waste. She takes the trouble to learn the values of foods, how best to balance the diet within her budget capacity, to enable the family to make the most of the income. She is industrious and methodical and while she takes all her duties seriously does not allow them to become an oppressive burden as often happens with many routine tasks. She finds enough leisure for reading, recreation, social calls and functions, sports, excursions, etc. She thus manages to retain her health, youthfulness and above all her interest in outside affairs and country's problems.

The proper type of education has fitted the American woman for not only household tasks but other occupations as well. She makes an excellent farm woman, and typical America is in the country side. The country woman drives her tractor as well as the city woman drives her car. The daughter lends her hand at the tractor with the same ease as at the churner or at the accounts ; she can wield the carpenter's tools with as much grace as strum at the piano. That is the secret of the American Woman's strength and uniqueness.

The American woman takes motherhood with equal seriousness. Unwilling to take chances, she attends classes run by organisations such as the Maternity Association, to prepare herself for the great task. She reads books on the subject of motherhood, consults experts and experienced friends, doctors, and psychologists. To her motherhood is the woman's greatest vocation for which she must get qualified by intelligent preparation. She makes an understanding parent who strives to enter into the mind and emotions

of her child, and become its friend and playmate. She attends summer classes for mothers, where nursery schools are conducted simultaneously under expert direction, and is ever alert to catch up with new discoveries in the child world, and keep up with the fast growing child-mind. The excellent habit of the American people to keep abreast of current thought by attending special courses, never feeling too old to learn, helps the grown-ups to keep up with their growing children, particularly youths. This to a large extent is now helping to bridge the inevitable gap between generations, a gap that is so often fraught with grief and sadness for both the young and the old.

A child is accepted as an essential factor necessary to make married life complete. Therefore any such void is filled up by adopting orphan children where a couple does not happen to have children of its own. In adoptions, preference is given to very tiny babies, so that they may be moulded from a very early age. Such children are rarely told until perhaps they attain maturity, that they are only the adopted progeny, so as to avoid any handicaps such as a sense of inferiority which this knowledge may create. Usually a boy and a girl are adopted so that they may be companions to each other. Those desirous of adopting, usually register their applications at any of the homes for children, with particulars as to the type of children wanted. The mother gives as much thought to the child's psychological environment as to its physical, as much to its food and clothing as to its emotional needs and hunger. The American mother's great ambition is to be a good and successful mother by making herself an understanding companion to the children. It is ridiculous to say the modern woman shirks motherhood and wants to avoid children. What the American mother tries to do is to regulate pre-

gnancies. The number is usually determined by the economic status of the family, but usually no couple is content with less than two. As soon as a couple marries, it begins saving up for children and as soon as it has saved enough, proceeds to have the first baby. This entails long leave for the mother if she is a working woman. The American mother feeds and rears the child herself, and does not believe in leaving it all to the nurse, even where she can afford one. She fulfils these tasks with zest and pleasure for to her it is a vocation she has taken up voluntarily and with choice, one in which she has faith, and which satisfies her inner yearning and outer ambition.

Most interesting of all is the new orientation in the sex relationship. The principle of equality finds expression in a healthy form. The husband and wife believe in sharing the responsibility for running the home. In most countries where they both work outside, the woman usually has to bear a double burden. She has to be up early in the kitchen, drive at a desk or a shop all day and when she is through with it, take on the domestic duties for the evening and late into the night; while the husband has only his professional duties outside and hence time and leisure for other activities. Not so in the New World. The husband helps the wife in the household tasks, to clean, wash, sweep and look after the babies. He keeps house and minds the babies when she wants a chance to go somewhere on her own. His tasks in the household are regarded as much his own as that of his wife. They are not charity poses to help the poor woman out. His household responsibility is just accepted as part of the scheme of life. There are as many men students at Home Economic Classes as women. As many husbands attend classes run by the Maternity Association as the wives, for they

too must pick up the art of bringing up children, they too must learn how to bathe and feed a baby. Manhattan's Maternity Centre Association has a school for fathers where special courses are run (now copied by several other cities) and diplomas are given for the title of Prepared Parent. The subjects cover : 'Anatomy and Physiology relating to pregnancy ; preparation for delivery ; after care of mother and child. There is also a class for Expectant Fathers run by the District Health Department of Columbia where the men are taught how to bathe, dress and feed the baby. The artificial division between feminine and masculine duties is fast disappearing. When woman invaded the extra-domestic masculine world, and society swept aside the traditional barriers cast around certain professions which had so far denied entry to women, *vice versa* the exclusively feminine boundary around the domestic world too was bound to vanish. There are only two ways of granting equal status to women ; one is to recognise the economic and social status of the women's domestic rule, and accept the sexes as divisions of labour. The other, not to label any occupation as feminine or masculine, and let the sexes share the tasks at home and outside on a basis of equality. America is pointing the way to one. It is evolving a satisfactory solution out of many ventures and experiments, and opening up new avenues.

Today the American husband and wife share besides the domestic, so many other aspects of their life together, the intellectual and the cultural. They study and create together. They travel and adventure together. The labour saving devices save them from needless drudgery and expenditure of time. But above all, much of this development has been possible mainly because the woman is truly independent, and does not threaten to become a drag on herself

or on the man. The American woman commands our admiration because of her self reliance and resourcefulness. Her freedom is of a real and vital character, which will not be plagued or plague others with her helplessness. Yet she is sweetly feminine, endowed with all the womanly coquetry. She believes in dressing well, and making herself attractive. But she is not content to be a mere ornament. She aims at an independent entity and personality.

CHAPTER X

AMERICA'S BID FOR POWER

"The future of the world belongs to us," said Ambassador Page, in a letter to President Wilson during World War I. "The British are spending their capital. What are we going to do with the leadership of the world when it clearly falls into our hands?"

Dr. Virgril Jordon, head of the National Industrial Conference Board told the Investment Bankers' Association on the outbreak of World War II : "America has embarked on a career of imperialism, both in world affairs and in every aspect of her life.....Even though by our aid England should emerge from this struggle without defeat, she will be so impoverished economically and crippled in prestige that it is improbable she will be able to resume or maintain the dominant position in world affairs which she has occupied so long. At best England will become a junior partner in a New Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in which the economic resources and the military and naval strength of the U.S. will be the centre of gravity. Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific, the path of Empire takes its way, and in modern terms of economic power as well as political prestige, the sceptre passes to the United States. All this is what lies beneath the phrase, 'national defence', some of it deeply hidden, some of it very near the surface, and soon to emerge to challenge us."

The head of the American Manufacturers' Association declared : "The mantle of the British imperialism has fallen on us." Said Henry Luce of Time Magazine in a broad-

cast : "This is the American century." To these may be added observant intellectuals like Bertrand Russel, who declared : "It is obvious that the next power to make a bid for world empire will be America. No nation with sufficient resources can long resist the attempt and America's resources are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony." In his book "America conquers Britain", Ludwell Denne says, very significantly : "We were Britain's colony once. She will be our colony before she is done. Not in name but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world. Now better machines are giving America power over the world. We are not content with the richest country on earth. Geniuses of mechanic and efficiency, we cannot organise an equitable distribution of our national wealth. Instead we exploit other nations. There may have been some excuse for Britain on her foggy island to go imperialist. There is none for us with a near continent upon which to thrive. But we are not without cunning. We shall not make Britain's mistake. Too wise to try to govern the world, we shall merely own it. Nothing can stop us, nothing until our financial empire rots at its heart as empires have a way of doing. If Britain is foolish enough to fight us she will go down more quickly our weapons are money and machines. Our materialism though not our power is matched by theirs. That is why our conquest is so easy, so inequitable." Though some of this may be exaggeration, it shows the trends. It also indicates the significance of U.S.A. in the present world conflict. Although the competition between Britain and America has not totally ceased, the latter is more likely to regard Britain as an irksome element rather a formidable rival. There was a time however, when writers and

speakers indulged in some loose speculations of a British-American conflict. But such a possibility got ruled out a long time ago. Britain was ceasing to be the challenger. In her place was rising another.

Though Germany was checked and dispossessed of her colonies in the last war, she was not defeated, and she rose again with almost redoubled vigour and this time her old ambitions were reinforced by bitterness and thirst for revenge. The last decade had begun to witness the unbelievable marvel of a country which although shaken by tottering finances, had started sweeping the world market. Very soon everywhere in people's minds German goods came to mean reliability and soundness. Gradually the race for the dominance of the world market narrowed down between those who had already "arrived there" like England and America, and those who had been check-mated or were late in making it, like Germany and Japan. But beneath the surface this four-cornered trade war, at least on the Continent of Europe and America, had got reduced to a deadly duel between America and Germany, the two most highly-powered monarchs of giant productions and efficiency. It was on this axle that the world conflict began its spin, overcast by the two "menacing dark shadows of Russia and Japan." Not only had Germany been rapidly penetrating the South American markets but also threatening the aviation lines of this southern continent, and the situation had grown so acute that either Germany had to be given a decisive blow or she would snatch the initiative and push on toward world dominance. America's official "dislike" of dictators has had to be reconciled all along not only with her loans to the South American dictator-ruled countries, but also with the financial patronage shown to Mussolini who was granted a cancellation of

82.2% of the Italian debt to the U. S. then given a loan to reward him for having graciously accepted this concession, and then later granted an additional 450 million dollars, all with the faint hope he would not link arms with his fellow dictator across the border. American money had gone into other dictator countries of Europe such as Hungary, while American Corporations entered European Cartels with all their political implications.

America with its economic strength and political power should have played a more decisive role in international affairs in the interim between the two world wars. An analysis of its political isolationism reveals geographic, political and social reasons why it failed to. The distance from Europe accentuated by a political distrust of the Old World Powers, combined with the social prejudice born of old memories of its persecution and tyranny, and the more recent ones of frequent wars, all contributed to a desire to hold aloof from that continent. American isolationism has a long tradition built on the warnings of illustrious Americans like Washington, Jefferson, Adams, who declared that Europe had a set of primary interests alien to those of America, that it fell into frequent controversies, the causes of which did not concern the U. S.; they also stressed the inadvisability of "Entangling Alliances," now a much bandied phrase that seems to have stuck deep in the American consciousness. Moreover, the home front created a situation of intense pre-occupation. The imperfectly fused medley of racial stocks that had flocked to the New World, needed time and freedom from distraction to settle down. The great emphasis put on isolationism by the Republican leaders after World War I to discredit Wilson's internationalism and throw out the Democrats, was another added factor. Last but not least, the continued depression which

overtook the country from 1929 like a dark deluge, with international currency toppling over like a house of cards and international trade shrinking to a trickle, washed out clean every prospect of international co-operation.

It was the return of the Democrats to power with the election of Roosevelt that paved the way to international co-operation once again, though the complicated domestic situation continued to obscure the path for quite sometime. In the meanwhile, the traditional prejudice of the American people against involvement in European wars got greatly reinforced by the startling disclosures of the Senate Committee on the shady machinations of the munition industry and the even more sinister doings of the money-bags—the American bankers, whom the allies owed $2,700,000,000. The common men and women of America realised that they had been drawn unwary, unsuspecting, into a bloody feud to feed the roaring munition furnaces and fatten money purses, under the caption of a crusade for world liberty. In the blunt American way the Committee's Report declared that the financier's heavy stake had "prevented the maintenance of a truly neutral course between the allies and the Central Powers." After this the demand for rigid legislation to preserve neutrality became irresistible. Out of the 15 bills before it, Congress hammered out the Neutrality Act, prohibiting the export of arms or ammunition to any belligerent nation or any country which might tranship to a belligerent, and made it unlawful for any American ship to carry arms for or to any belligerent. This portrays the real temper of the Americans which unless plugged hard by press, radio and speeches, remains within these four corners.

It might have suited American big business to pursue in this war the same policy as in the last, to delay entry, give all passive aids to England, gain time to build up a

colossal war machine, then come in to reap a swift victory. But several factors made this impossible, chief among them the lightning Nazi victories, the swift collapse of France, (where the line should have been held until U.S. was ready for military intervention,) and the unpreparedness of England. Poland had been cleaned up in 27 days, Norway in 23, Low Countries and France in 38, Yugoslavia in 12, Libya in 10 days which the British had taken 8 weeks to conquer; and according to some speculators even England was like a fruit burdened with ripe age which may fall any day into the Nazi lap. All these factors necessitated larger commitments and a more rapid rate of involvement than anticipated. As Henry Wallace said, "America can no more evade responsibility than a boy of 18 avoid becoming a man by wearing short pants."

But this was by no means the complete picture. Capitalism with its external contradictions was facing more than one dilemma. America was the one country where to the capitalist, the old type of what is called liberal capitalism, still seemed vital enough to survive. To many Americans the old British Empire looked doomed. The air was thick with the dark apprehension of England going socialist under the air blitz. With famine hanging over Europe, devastation stalking its every unhappy country, what would happen there tomorrow was anybody's guess. The Red shadow of the Soviet lay across Europe like a "sinister" warning. A prolonged war may mean red revolution, the hammer and sickle over Whitehall. Unter den Linden, and the Quinal, not to speak of the numerous smaller countries Europe swarms with. The American capitalists split under the pressure of these over-bearing factors into the interventionists and the isolationists, the former represented by such as the Committee to defend America by aiding the Allies,

Fight for Freedom, etc.; the latter by America First Committee League to save America and a whole host of similar organisations with long-stringed titles in the typical American style. The difference between the interventionists and the isolationists, was the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. The first stood for a war to the finish, to cripple Germany and establish world hegemony; the second declared they preferred the lesser of the two evils that is, a negotiated peace with some concessions to Germany to the greater disaster of total extinction of capitalism and a Sovietised Europe. Both stood, however, for the salvaging of capitalism and bolstering it up.

Since 1899, the U. S. had been committed in the Pacific to the Open Door Policy in China and protection of the Philippines. Just before the Spanish war, the Bureau of Foreign Commerce had spoken of the bright prospects for "An American invasion of the markets of the world with immense gains to our manufacturers." It had specially pointed to China as one of the promising markets while the commercial community had upheld the idea of Philippine occupation on the ground that half the population of the world was easily get-at-table from this base. But the American people had no territorial ambitions nor dreamed of empire glories. Strangely enough it was with Japan that American trade developed. This encouraged soft pedalling on both sides and they carried on in amity under the Nine Power Treaty and the Washington ratio which was as transitory as the Versailles drama. A clash between the two was, however, inevitable if U.S. were to adhere to the Open Door policy which must naturally militate against what Japan termed her "Rightful aspirations." Here were the eternal contradictions in the current political affairs, ending always in indefinite drift and ultimate tragedy.

1939 found no group, neither interventionists nor isolationists, prepared for precipitating a crisis, at least not until the European situation had eased. The tactics of the two, however, differed: the interventionists leaned more towards the policy of using China to bog down the Japanese War machine and keep the war going until such time as the U.S. hands were freed of the European problem, to sternly call Japan to order. The Non-interventionists on the other hand stood for an immediate understanding with Japan taking her into a kind of junior partnership for the economic exploitation of the Far East (which in plain parlance means collaboration) even if it meant allotting certain positions to her in the Pacific.

Whilst the Atlantic tension grew and administration tightened up its strings, the appeasement was allowed to run its course in the Far East. That is where one sees that in the pursuit of a policy, war and appeasement cease to be opposites and become complementary. The same capitalistic principle finds expression in two seemingly conflicting courses, while each covers up the real motive behind a high sounding lofty caption. The alignments are by no means accidental or sentimental. They represent factors, that are at work in definite ways. The interventionists were primarily the Wall Street monopolists, those most closely connected with war production and possessing the most extensive ties with Europe. The non-interventionists represented the second line of capitalist groups, less directly connected with war production and concentrated more in the midwest and northwest like the Little Steel Group, the farm interests, etc. The appeasement policy of the administration was pursued not only in the Far East but even towards Italy until Italy actually declared war and is still maintained to the present day towards Spain which

by no means seems to violate America's Christian Conscience or abhorrence of totalitarianism. Practically every country's actions are motivated more by exigencies than by lofty sentiments or ideologies, although every country would have us believe the latter. Here are some official figures from the Commerce Department which belie the belief that America abrogated her trade treaty with Japan as a mark of protest against Japan's policy in China and with a view to curtail the supply of war material to the former. The first ten months of 1940, exports from the U.S. to Japan amounted to $ 191,000,000 as against $ 179,000,000, for the same months of 1939 before the abrogation ! The items included gasoline, refined and scrap iron, copper, metal working machinery and tin plate. When the embargos were introduced, materials still kept going. Gas other than aviation (although convertible into aviation gas) and finished metal products though no scrap or steel as such could go. A fairly revealing account of the working of Cordell Hull's "moral embargo" on the sale of war material to Japan, was revealed in the evidence of James Martin, Economic Warfare Chief, Department of Justice, before the Kilgore Committee, which included a confidential letter from the New York Branch of the Mitsubushi Trading Co. to Tokyo, eight months after the embargo. It told how the big U.S. firms were helping this Company but it had to be kept secret for fear of an unfavourable publicity and labour difficulties, since Labour Organisations opposed shipments to Japan. It named quite a few of the biggest Corporations in the country, some of whom would circumvent while others accept orders without reservations." What is even more significant is the fact that none of the leading American papers like the New York Times, Herald Tribune or any of the press associations made any reference to these revelations. So

much for the principle of fighting fascism. Correspondingly the help to China was of little account. The isolationists in their attempt to avoid involvement in Europe, came out more and more openly and frankly on the role of the U.S. in the southern continent and finding there substitutes for the loss of trade in Europe. General Wood, Chairman of the America First Committee with which was associated Colonel Lindberg, said in a speech : " Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North and South America. We stand in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organising ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like the North and a virgin one like the South. The re-organisation and development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for capital and energies for some time to come. We should also make it clearly understood that no Government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the U. S. A. and that if necessary, *We are prepared to use force to attain our object.*"

To those who are conversant with Uncle Sam's million dollar diplomacy in the southern continent the significance of this becomes obvious. How often the Janus mask of peace and democracy has hidden a more sinister countenance.

Hitler's turning eastward and Japan's coming into the open terminated all this unreal conflict between intervention and isolation. The people of America as people anywhere else, are not interested in war ; they want no involvement in these devastating conflicts. In fact in spite of many veiled threats, Roosevelt never came out openly for war until he was secure in his third term, though no doubt many other more intimate factors governed that election issue beside participation in war. This

is what he declared then : "We are arming ourselves not for any foreign war. We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes.. It is for peace that I have laboured, and it is for peace that I shall labour all the days of my life." And this is what his rival Wilkie assured : "I have given you my pledge many times over, I will work for peace. We are against sending our boys into wars other than for the defence of our own country." So much for the political gold bricks offered as election price. Immediately the election was over, the New York Times announced quite blandly : "While the electoral battle raged, various proposals for further help to Britain were kept in the background..Delayed action was a practical effect of the campaign, proved by the instant rush to make up for lost time."

The "War short of military action" which was however already in full swing, reached the pinnacle with the launching of the Lease-Lend. Its gigantic proportions were only equalled by its gigantic national and international implications. The expansion of administrative control and intervention in all affairs which began so decisively and inevitably with the New Deal, led up to its logical claims in the Lease Lend measure. Its nature is unprecedented in history and for a while, gave a jolt to the man in the street. But war the steamroller sweeps all before it, giving nobody any quarter to pause or ponder. The balance between legislative and executive powers nearly went overboard. More and more power passed to the man in the White House.

Bill No. 1776 so prophetically numbered, was as simple in its language as far reaching in its implications, its powers as sweeping as they were penetrating. "The President may from time to time when it seems to him in the

interests of national defense, authorise the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the head of any other department or agency of the government :—(1) To manufacture in arsenals, factories and ship-yards under their jurisdiction or otherwise procure any defense article for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the U. S. (2) To sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend or otherwise dispose of to any such government any such article.

3. To test, inspect, improve, repair, outfit, recondition or otherwise place in good working order any defense article for any such government.

4. To release for export any defense article for any such government. The bill goes on to say that the terms of these articles " shall be those which the President deems satisfactory, and the benefit to the United States may be payment or re-payment in kind or property or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory, the funds for this to come out of the money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplishment of this act ; and he may exercise any power, authority conferred upon him by this Act through such department, agency or officer as he shall direct." The President was certainly the monarch of what he could survey and even of much that he could not. He had but to literally press the button for his world—and a very wide one it was—to move instantaneously. During a war practically all government bureaus are classified as defence agencies. On 15th March 1941, this momentous Bill was passed and America entered on its " World Mission ". At his press Conference that week, the President guffowed in the true Rooseveltian manner and laughed off the idea that he

might buy up the British Navy or sell the American. He likened it rather to a person who lends his garden hose to a neighbour to put out the fire. Actually amongst one of the earliest demands in the Lease-Lend articles were three entries asking for a total of 900,000 feet of fire hose costing about $3,00,000 !" The hose is an apt expression. It has been flung over mountains and thrown across oceans. American bases are springing up like mushrooms overnight. The Atlantic defence sites stretch from Greenland to British Guinea, with a virtual protectorate over the former, the largest island in the world. All were not happy over it. Some puzzled and others shrugged their shoulders. The man in the street puckered his brow and whistled "say, boy, this is some Bill or I don't know nothing." Even amongst the upper ones, there were troubled eyes and hot breaths. For to them, dollar was still a dollar which they liked to crinkle between their fingers, and rather feared this might be just one of those Roosevelt's hocuspocus hat tricks.

Those who wish to get a brief idea of some of the implications of Lease-Lend, even apart from its political significance, should study the report of the American Foreign Economic Administrator as prepared by the Business Advisory Committee, on the disposal of foreign surplus property. The report points out the fact that American goods in new markets means the creation of future markets and increase in production in all areas. "The increasing production abroad often means more purchasing power for buying American goods in general, and more opportunities for American Export Houses," the Report goes on to say. "Banking, Insurance, Shipping and other activities.... No sooner do the devastated areas begin to produce than they cease to be the candidates for relief and develop into

potential customers of our imported goods in general....the interests of the United States should be paramount...."

Memories die hard and bad debts rankle. Uncle Sam had never quite forgiven the defaulting cousin for defaulting and then calling him names. Several were for yelling "Yes I am Uncle Shylock," and donning the skull cap and claw-like talons, and demanding the pound of flesh, a neat sum of $14,256,000,000. Said Mr. Kennedy, who graced the American ambassadorial chair at St. James Court, at the outbreak of World War II: "The British ought to make available to us all the assets we can use." The process of melting down the assets did begin and pretty fast. The clamour for the British Plums in Uncle Sam's garden started anew. Then with an effort at great generosity Mr. Kennedy added: "If after the resources of Great Britain were used up it were still sound American policy to assist them, I prefer it to be done through outright gifts".... Said Mr. Knudsen, General Motors Magnate: "Yes it would be nice to have collateral but...." with a cough and an ahm, "aren't we a little beyond that now?" Tempers rose as across the turbulent Atlantic came gruff Churchillean growls: "If co-operation between the U.S.A. and the British Empire..were to fail, the British Empire will preserve its life and strength for the inevitable renewal of the conflict on worse terms after an uneasy truce." They evoked memories of another growl, nay a regular leonine roar in the true Churchillian form in one of Churchill's addresses to America, made in 1936, when he was still the bad boy of English politics: "America's entrance into the war in 1917 was disastrous, not only disastrous for your country but for the allies as well, because had you stayed at home and minded your own business, we would have made peace with the Central Powers in the spring of 1917,

and then there would have been no collapse in Russia followed by Fascism, and Nazism would not at present be enthroned in Germany. "This was perhaps the unkindest cut of all!

It is said that when the American eagle twists the British lion's tail, it is not news, but when the lion bites the eagle, the cables burn and the headlines sizzle. This time the lion in the usual form of Mr. Churchill roared again, as it has from time to time, for the eagle had been twisting its tail again for its exploits in Greece, Belgium and Italy. "The expression 'Power Politics' has lately been used in criticism against us. I would anxiously have asked the question 'what are power politics'? I know some of our friends across the water so well that I am sure I can always speak frankly without causing offence. Is having a navy twice as big as anybody else's in the world power politics? Is having the largest air force with bases in every part of the world, power politics? Is having all the gold in the world, power politics? If so we are certainly not guilty of this offence. I am very sorry to say that they are luxuries far away from us. Roosevelt has said power politics is misuse of power. I can say we are absolutely in agreement"—well may the world say amen to Mr. Churchill's peroration! The English resent American Sermons directed towards them as a deplorable American habit of preaching a higher form of morality than they are themselves prepared to practise. Pertinently does Keith Hutchison writing in the Nation, say: "In the eyes of the world, hypocrisy is a characteristic of both English speaking people—It might be much better if both nations acknowledge that their primary purpose in fighting the war was survival, and harped less on their noble motives."

But when the war comes to a close and the simple American business man starts counting up his assets and

profits, he does it in dollar bills, real estate and the like. Abstract slogans and moral platitudes have no use for him. Hailing way back from Tennessee came a senator to whom business was business and no nonsense. On the floor of the Congress he put forth a modest demand : that the U. S. A. acquire all the 1400 Jap-mandated islands in the Pacific, Bermuda and all others in the West Indies now owned by England and the European countries ; the Galapago Islands at present owned by Eucador. Up came another Senator, adjusted his tie and boomed a little less modestly. "I think we should go further, and take Binicin and Nassau..moreover, we should not only take the islands which belong to the British, but also discuss their appraised value and deduct their value from what Britain owes us for World Wars I & II ; and in return for the help given to the French, we should claim the two small Islands of New Foundland". In the fruitful discussion that followed, more islands were included. As Senator McKellar put it, " All the islands in the Atlantic and Pacific near the Panama Canal are included." Soon, having spanned the rolling waters, the Senators landed on firm land. Senator Robert Reynolds took possession of the chalk to extend the frontiers of his beloved home country.

" There are a couple of vast areas lying just north of Brazil which belong to the French and the British and the Dutch. All of them owe money to the U.S.A. and we might respectfully request of them that they let us have such coastal areas as we may want for our protection and for the protection of our Brothers in the South of this hemisphere." This aspect has been accentuated by the categorical demand of the Senate Naval Sub-Committee for complete control of the strategically important Pacific Islands now legally held by Japan, and by its opposition to the proposals at San Francisco to place these under the Security

Council. The sub-Committee's stand was supported by all sections of the Senate and it was made clear that the Senate did not concur with President Truman's early declaration that the U. S. A. is not seeking "One piece of territory out of the war," but stood outright for the retention of the Islands, and bases built by the U.S.A. President Truman has, however, corrected himself since, or in crude parlance back-tracked. He explained his earlier impetuosity by saying he was not referring then to Military bases "Necessary for the complete protection of our interests and of world peace. The U.S.A. will have bases which our Military experts deem to be essential." Although no places were mentioned it is known that a blue print of U.S.A. needs in the Pacific has already been prepared to cover five mainland, sea and air establishments, plus a ring of secondary satellite bases criss-crossing the Pacific—"all which have been paid for in U.S.A. blood!"

The more modern Yankee businessmen represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the like, are impatient of their more antiquated compatriots with their acquisitive appetites for real estate—the colonies. They are more alive to markets, fields for investment etc. They baulked when President Roosevelt forwarded his last report on Lend-Lease to Congress with the recommendation that this be continued until the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan. The contention of the U.S.A. business groups was that this prolongation would be utilised by Britain to hold down its national debt and obtain "unfair advantages" in world trade, for they asserted that such aid will permit British industry to be more rapidly reconverted than American, giving it a head start. That these fears were pretty baseless was indicated even then. The President's report itself

pointed out one fact. that American cash exports—that is other than lend-lease goods—had been on the increase during the year over the pre-war level, while the British exports had had to be cut to nearly 50% of the pre-war value to make way for war production. So even at the President's modest estimate, American race for world markets was well ahead with gathering speed. As a matter of fact U. S. A. export trade has jumped from 3 to 14 billion dollars since the war, military and lease-lend covering about 1/3 of it. Lease-Lend which was 14% of the total exports in 1941 jumped to 79% by 1944. At the same time, according to the President of the American Chamber of Commerce in London, the colossal productive machine built up by the U.S.A. during the war period, can only be operated by the capture of world wide markets; that American industrialists plan to double the value of their exports; that they cannot be bothered by arguments that the U. S. A. must accept imports in exchange for exports. They evidently feel that the problem of payment is only the other men's headache and never their own—which just proves that man is not prepared to learn even through bitter experience, for such a policy can only mean the repetition of 1920 when the U.S.A. "exported unemployment" by insisting on gold payments for goods exported, only to bury this much coveted metal in Fort Knox when it was received.

Already the national debt is rising to astronomical proportions and eventually the bulk of the bonds issued will drift into the banks and corporations and the U.S.A. have the greatest concentration of wealth. The Americans are easily apt to forget that, the world contemplates with alarm America's demand for unlimited rights of trade and immediate elimination of tariffs and other restrictions im-

posed by Governments on foreign trade; that to call competition between an unscathed country possessed of gigantic fleets of ships and planes and armed with vast potentialities, and a battered and beggared world "free" comes as a mockery to the people at large to whom it savours more of capitalist competitive imperialism.

But there are others like the late squire of Hyde Park who wince at the brutal manners of the dollar-men and insist on the tail-coat tone and creased-trouser manner. The aims and ambitions of such men are larger than quotations on the stock exchange, and naturally baulk at petty bickerings of the market place. They see only too well that the Star-Spangled banner can't march in exalted glory with dollar bills blotched all over in the forefront, in what Lord Beaverbrook with direct British ruggedness, called, "The Battle for America".

American "dollar diplomacy" as American Imperialism has come to be delicately termed, is however on the march. Its latest coup is the four and a half billion dollar loan to Britain. The advent of the Labour Government in England marked the sudden termination of lease-lend, creating for England a very real economic Dunkirk. Viewed financially, the terms of the loan are favourable to the borrower. Under the agreement the British debt of 25 billion dollars for lend-lease war-aid stands cancelled. Part of the new credit is to pay for English purchases of American property now on the British soil, the rest to be made available outside. The re-payment is to start from 1952 spread over 55 years. The loan carries an interest of 1·62 per cent. (which has been made an ostensible target of British wrath—as uncle Shylock at his job again!) The American Treasury is itself borrowing this amount at the same rate.

The political significance of this is immense, as one press caption had it : "America Buys Share in British Empire." Under the Sterling Bloc arrangement countries like India, Egypt, Iran were all tied to Britain's shop-strings, robbing the U. S. of a vast volume of trade. The U.S. is now cracking this Bloc open with a golden wedge, namely, the loan, under which the tabs "reserved for England" will be taken off and these countries allowed to purchase where they will by being provided dollar exchange. But this is not the whole picture by any means as we shall presently see, for imperialistic competition is not simple and in single tones. It is complex like the multi-coloured strands in a complicated design. The best part of it all is that these terms are supposed to enunciate the principles laid down in the now almost forgotten Atlantic Charter ! The State Department in explaining its purpose says it "is to make real the principle of equal access to markets and raw materials of the world so that the varied gifts of many people may exert themselves more freely for the common good." This whole thesis is expounded in a State Department analysis, issued simultaneously with the Agreement, and titled "Analysis of proposals for the expansion of world trade and agreement." So a move to expand American trade in the world is expounded as implementing of the Atlantic Charter ! The protracted negotiations indicate, however, the strong resistance put up by the British, who have in fact characterised it as their economic Munich.

America has also signed an economic agreement with Italy under the same thesis of implementing the Atlantic Charter. Probably other similar agreements are in the offing. " America has launched a gigantic economic offensive with political overtones," so describes Louis Fischer these latest moves in dollar diplomacy.

Several authoritative statements have come from eminent Americans to counteract the "imperialism", of the American ruling class. "The age of imperialism is ended, said Sumner Welles. "Some have spoken of the American century," thundered Henry Wallace, "I say that the century on which we are entering can be and must be the century of the common man—No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations, there must be neither military nor economic imperialism . . . There must be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis." But history is made not by declarations and promises but by policies actually at work. The post World War I period bore no resemblance to Wilson's fourteen points. Proclamations emerge more often from the dictated necessities of war than from moral convictions. But they are not worthless nevertheless. For they find a ready echo in the hearts of the people. That is the promise and guarantee of ideals and validity of ideologies. Their very need testifies to the people's faith in them. Statesmen too often forget that proclaiming of virtuous war aims does not change the character of the war while it continues to be waged in pursuance of the same old policies. However epoch-making the Atlantic Charter may seem with its pledge against aggrandisement and affirmation of the principle of self determination, it fails to impress or inspire millions so long as empires cling to their sceptres and monopoly capital sits on the economic throne. Some turning cynical, perhaps in despair, like Vera Dean in her "Struggle for World Order" says : "the relationship known as imperialism will exist in one form or another as long as some people are economically backward." When Sumner Welles made the observation "the age of imperialism is ended," he undoubtedly

was referring to the old type of territorial conquest and rule, but not to the fundamental concept, that is monopoly capital. For monopoly capital is the decisive factor in modern imperialism which still dominates countries like England, America, France etc. Anne O'Hare Mc Cornmick, the well-known columnist, nonchalantly made an admission which the Americans deplored as a "slip", when she wrote : "from the outset of hostilities it can be said of those like the Turks who recognised the war for what it is, a contest for world empire." Earl Browder, Ex-Communist leader frankly admits in his writings, "Since we have laid down as the thesis the problem of winning victory for the United nations without any necessary fundamental changes in the regime of each country, *it is clear we do not place the abolition of imperialism* in our programme for victory". The disappearance of the older type of imperialism can only mean its replacement by a newer, may be subtler kind, for the innate nature of monopoly capital must seek other channels of outlet for world domination. Thus even the most peaceful of lands like Japan which had never known a war for many centuries, lets loose one of the bloodiest campaigns.

A people's standing is judged by its power. Power is opportunity and that opportunity can make or unmake the world. Japan's lost opportunity was Asia's great tragedy and one of humanity's greatest misfortunes. Equally decisive, perhaps more so, is America's opportunity today. To a superficial onlooker America is the land of skyscrapers, automobiles, ice-cream and last but not the least, Hollywood stars. Yet it is infinitely more than that. Perhaps it is not merely the foreigner but the American himself who has to discover his country, find some of its hidden springs and look into the face of its destiny. Had the gods ever been so lavish to any country as to this?

America should tremble to think how the future destiny lies in the palm of its hand.

Every fallen and ravaged country has looked to it for succour ; every nation in distress sent its cry of distress to this great land ; the colonial countries put their trust in her. Truly did Wendell Wilkie say, this very faith in her is America's greatest responsibility. What created this hope ? Whence this confidence ? What is America going to make of this ? What is to be her answer to the question the stricken and the disillusioned ones have posed for her ? Do her people, lost in their own prickly problems, realise how much hangs on their answer ?

It was up to the U.S. to facilitate or hinder the solution of this problem, common in fact to the United Nations as a whole, for every expression and attitude on the part of this country to repudiate or uphold the " Way of Imperialism" would have meant the strengthening or the weakening of the anti-imperialist democratic forces of the world.

The character of U. S. policy is, therefore, of universal importance for its impact is on the destinies of the world. As has been pertinently pointed out, when the other Powers are already going the way of all flesh, the remaining one can hardly be expected to resist. When others swagger off with their loot and booty, even the common people feel cheated by the rest of the world. Such a feeling was rampant in America after World War I. The American ruling classes therefore forearmed themselves this time from the start. When Germany and Japan were knocked out, U.S. had hoped to find herself at the top of the world. But the perverse contradictions of imperialism continue to pursue. Across the international horizon grew daily, hourly, the shadow of the Russian bear, a new challenge to the old powers. Result : instinctive lining up of America with Bri-

tain. At the start of the U. N. O. session, American Secretary of State Byrnes, got tough with the Russian leader Vishinsky and called to him to stop twisting the British lion's tail and cease the game of "Cat and Mouse" with Britain, on pain of forfeiting all prospects of American financial aid to Russia. It was partly this tragedy that Captain Hurley wished to pose for his people by dramatically resigning his post as Ambassador to China. He charged "we are permitting ourselves to be sucked into a power bloc on the side of colonial imperialism.... I am opposed to both British and Russian Imperialism..... America's strength should not be allied with any predatory ideology." In an imperialistic vortex there is no room for half measures. You either appease or fight the rival power or powers. Before World War II America and England appeased Germany and Japan until the latter crossed the bounds of appeasement and made a grab at what they wanted. The same story is now being repeated, this time with Russia. In such a situation the only chance for peace was for the U. S. to stand away from the imperialist race, for then alone could it have generated the required moral force to be able to call the others to answer and demand of them to relinquish their grabbing policy and disgorge their Empires.

But was the U. S. constituted to play this role? As she is today, one may unhesitatingly say, no. There is one very significant factor which many in their emotional enthusiasm for the U. S. fail to note, or may be overlook. It is this; American imperialism which rose during the Finance-Capital period and therefore without burdening itself with territorial colonies, today more than ever enjoys certain definite advantages over the more obsolete British brand. For as the old structure melts down under the high

pressure of the war-furnace, these "liberated" colonies will be the most fruitful pastures for American finance and American goods. But change is a dangerous gamble and its outcome incalculable. Nobody can vouch for such an orderly well-timed transition from one to the other. There is every danger of there being no transition at all. The collapse of the much-hated British Empire, which even American imperialists have chafed at sometimes as a heavy impediment to their expansionist plans, may lead to the collapse of imperialism in the world itself. For the British Empire has been in a sense, the corner stone of world imperialism. As an American writer has pertinently put it, "American imperialism has arrived at its subjective maturity just in time to see the world slipping out of the hands, not only of the British Colonial system, but of any possible world system of imperialist rule....that when the limitation is removed, there is removed at the same time the basic factor of the world under which they had learned to operate, and that they have nothing to take its place." It is more or less being now recognised that, as we understand imperialism, it can be abolished in its entirety only by destroying capitalist economy itself. And therefore the assertions of leaders like Herbert Hoover during the war, that the restoration of capitalism all over the world should be made an aim of the war, that the U.S. should insist and fight for the continuance of capitalism in every country, becomes so significantly sinister.

The prospect becomes even more sinister and lurid when one peruses the latest book written by Earl Browder when he was still the head of the Communist Party in America, called Teheran, wherein he expounds an "American brand" of democracy and socialism thus: "It is the most stupid mistake to suppose that any American interest, even

that of American monopoly capital is incompatible with this necessary people's revolution in Europe. *As a matter of fact this is the only way in which Europe can become the effective market* which is absolutely necessary for American economy's survival on a capitalist basis. . . . Adherents of socialism, therefore, in order to function actively as bearers of unity within the broad democratic camp, must make it clear that they will not raise the issue of socialism in such a force and manner as to weaken or endanger the national unity. They must subordinate their socialist convictions, in all practical issues, to the common programme of the majority. . . . Therefore the policy for Marxists in the U.S. is *to face with all its consequences the perspective of a capitalist United States.*"

For America to have talked of winning the war first and then settling all these problems was putting the cart before the horse. The initial Japanese successes in the East were proof enough of this. Even the American Excommunist leader who admitted that his party did not place the abolition of imperialism in their programme for victory, had to admit that the war "has presented all nations, even the imperialist powers, no alternative between destruction at the hands of the axis or victory on the condition of alliance with the Soviet Union and the liberation of nations, the abolition of the colonial system." The ruling classes however do not conform to this. The English for instance would no doubt confess that the threat they felt in this war was not the loss of colonies but the menace of Germany, that what enthused them to withstand the manifold hardships and continue resistance, was not the thought of India cutting loose from the imperial anchor but the fear lest their own Island get anchored to the Swastika.

The real national interests of any people never conflict with those of another, in peace or in war. This is what the people of every country have to realise if they are not to fall easy victims to their rulers' propaganda lies. This is what the people of the united nations, particularly of England and America have still to learn as an elementary lesson on how to become a United Nations ; that unity can come only through agreements among *equals* with a feeling of common interest and common good, and which alone can make a real united nations ; that unity between a ruling country and its subject peoples is but pure illusion, that allies cannot be made out of colonial people by talking tough to them or taking the strong line, as is so often done by the Anglo-American ruling classes. Alliances in war and death are not made over "credit" promises, but "cash down" actions. The very imperialistic ambitions and rivalries which haunt all "Powers" is the driving wedge which will for ever weaken and set at nought the genuine links of unity. The skies at the moment are menaced by many sinister signs. The links of the United Nations' chain, are already coming to pieces under the pressure of "power politics", which sadly reveals the hollow foundation of this "unity". The scramble for spheres of influences is making of human affairs as great a tragedy as the war itself had done. The people still continue to be the pawns in this game. A new front in truth has opened, with the People fighting to live their own lives their own way against the powers who want to run their lives for them. This is an open lesson for colonials, whose turn has come again as in 1918-1919 and events are repeating themselves all over, in Asia and in Africa as in Europe. Monotonously, tragically, history repeats itself.

The Atlantic Charter never did have any reality for

most. But even for those it had, it has ceased to be. It has kind of "passed into the beyond," a lesson to be taught in a Sunday School, and to be ignored in everyday life, like the rest of the Biblical teachings. Quite a bit of flutter was created by Roosevelt when he confessed that there was no document as such of the Charter but only a "few notes consisting of little scraps of hand-writing". He however tried to lend a touch of exaltation by likening it to the ten Commandments (of which no original document exists either) Result : The Chicago Tribune published a front page colour cartoon of F.D.R. fishing, with this jingle underlining it ;

> For three long years you let us think, the famed Atlantic Charter Inc.
> Was signed and sealed and guaranteed. By which all nations would be freed.
> But now we're told the document was just a memo of intent,
> An idyll written on a boat when you were fishing for our vote.

It will be one of war's many casualties, with few to shed tears over it, any way. So much for war aims and peace objectives !

Although the San Francisco Conference began its deliberations even before the close of the war, it was pretty evident by then that the U.S. was far from wanting to back out of the international scene or shirk international commitments. There were several reasons for it : the feeling that the U.S. more or less got left behind in the world race after World War I and was thus considerably handicapped during the entire interim period by its refusal to enter the League ; as also a growing conviction of its own almost pre-determined role in the future of the world, all

contributed to make U.S. take the centre of the show at the United Nations Conference. The presence of Republican leaders like Vandenberg at the Conference was indicative of the solid backing to this new policy. The ready ratification of the United Nations Charter and Bretton-Woods agreement by the Congress were foregone conclusions. The Big Power's blue print prepared at Dumbarton Oaks for post-war security was the Zodiacal sign which forecast the shape of events at San Francisco. Under this plan, the Great Powers (*Three* to be precise, France and China merely allowed to look in through the window and to be let in only to attach their signatures when required) are to be the executors (President Roosevelt preferred to call them the policemen of peace), the other nations to be the ordinary men in the street, hereinafter to be called "the public". In short it is the secular version of the Holy Alliance of the 19th century.

The long expected World Security Conference has come and gone. To many it opened like a flower at dawn full of hope and expectation. The setting was perfect in the warm sunny California of orange blossoms and golden fruit, significantly facing the East—Asia with its stirring, wide-awakened teeming millions, chafing under the chain, growling under the lashes, looking eagerly to this great land. But the flower of dawn closed like a heat-stricken blossom at sun-down. America played the Big Power to perfection taking the traditional road to spheres of influence, markets and the rest, although big boss Roosevelt had vehemently condemned power-politics as misuse of power, in his last message to the Congress.

Now the stage for the Peace Conference has been set and it is obviously following the same pattern. The Big Three will prepare the Peace Treaties in advance for sub-

mission for "discussion only, please" to the other nations who will have no option to say either 'Aye or Nay'. They will be allowed to humbly offer their views and if the Big Three feel it is worth their while then only will they make any changes. This is the new type of diplomacy which may henceforth be known as the World Security Cordon. So the tragic lessons of a century and a half are thrown to the winds and the Great Powers are once more to be astride the saddle and set their noses to World War III. Even before the ink was dry on the San Francisco Charter the Alliance has started dissolving in the heat of international rivalries. President Truman's advocacy of compulsory military training for one year and for the physically unfit, industrial training, is an indication of U. S. reaction to this situation.

It is impossible to speak of the aims of war and the principles of peace without referring to India. An American politician has pertinently remarked : "The case for immediate independence for India thus does not derive its pressing immediacy from any idealistic haste on the part of friends of freedom to bestow the blessings of the Atlantic Charter upon that unhappy country. Far from drawing its inspiration from the Atlantic Charter, it might rather be said that the Atlantic Charter has drawn much of its importance from the Indian Independence Movement. Faced with a difficult and dangerous problem, we have awakened to the fact that we already have efficiency programme to solve it—provided we take our programme seriously as a guide to action and not as a decoration for ceremonial occasions." Yet Washington has been repeating with solemn monotony, that India is Britain's domestic problem which is but an echo of Japan's similar assertion regarding China in the past.

The Indian mind is often baited by the thought that America in her keenness to establish trade relations with India would naturally be interested in India's economic and political freedom, since the former is not possible without the latter. It must be admitted that generally speaking American business is for closer and direct trade relations with countries like India. This view found expression through the President of the International Business Conference at Rye. Increased foreign trade expansion has been recommended by the National Association of Manufacturers representing 12,000 firms and also by the National Planning Association which is influential in shaping public opinion. The State Department is also working for American Trade expansion by the elimination of tariffs and the like, and facilities for the release of dollar exchange in the sterling countries. But when it comes down to brass-tacks, American attitude towards trade with India becomes complex. For in the last analysis the attitude of Washington towards England tips the scale. This at the moment seems to be to leave the Indian field clear to the British, at least in no case to give the impression of trade rivalry. Moreover the treatment meted out to India under the new American loan-agreement is ghastly, through the proposal to "scale down" i.e. to cancel on one pretext or the other, portions of these balances. This is all the more sinister in view of the fact that these sterling balances were a compulsory accumulation forced on India and at very heavy cost to her vital existence. For, essential goods needed by her people were taken away often at prices lower than what the Indians themselves had to pay. While the original loan itself was a forced one, even that is sought to be wiped off and India's finances are to be sacrificed to accommodate the American lender. The American Government has been

mainly influenced by the opinion that post-war Britain being in a tight corner, to relieve some of this tension, India should be left as an exclusive field to England. This is a shallow and perverse attitude, a logical corollary to the whole plan of "sphere of influence"; for were India left free to expand economically there would be room enough for India to trade with more than one country. It was perhaps this same narrow vision which was responsible for America's acquiescence in England's demand to bury the Report of the Grady Mission. The full history of the infamous end of that valuable Report, has yet to come to light. What we know is that America alarmed at the reverses in the Pacific, wanted to make sure of an industrially-adequate base in India. The unsatisfactory information supplied by the British Government regarding India, made America send out a special mission under Mr. Grady to speedily assess the situation and report. The British seemed disposed to handicap this mission from the very start. They tried to prejudice Indian business against the Mission by warnings against American exploitation of India and every effort was made to prevent any free intercourse between the Mission and Indian business.

The Mission recommended the construction of some basic industries in India. America was to build them and have a controlling hand while the war lasted. After that these industries were to be handed over to the Indians in return for some compensation. But England was not willing to agree to this. She said she could not possibly permit America or any other country (meaning other than herself) to launch industries in India on these conditions. America, unwilling to offend England and "interfere" in her sphere, agreed to bury the report. England never takes India into confidence, so the Indians never knew just what

happened, except that the Report was spirited off. Naturally some sort of adverse comment against this mystery appeared in the Indian press, obviously not too complimentary to the U. S. either. This the British information agents in America obligingly collected clipping by clipping to make a New-Year gift-bouquet to the American State Department to prove, how ungrateful and hence how unworthy the people of India were of such noble plans as America had for them. The story goes that Cordell Hull became so furious when he saw the pile of clippings that he swore : " To hell with India."

Last but not least is the Philips incident, too well known to need repetition, for it was, what the Time Magazine described as a drama with an all-star cast. As an impecably correct diplomat of 39 years' standing, Mr. Philips made a faithful report to his Boss : "Indians feel they have no voice in the government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel they have nothing to fight for and wonder whether the Atlantic Charter is only for the benefit of the White Man." Correct reports by faithful diplomats are not always right politics. So Mr. Philips paid the price, in spite of his 39 years' standing and well established record. It was but one more casualty of the war !

The dramatic sequel to this is of even greater significance to India. The mild, peace-loving Christian Ambassador Halifax waged a tornadic unchristian battle against the American State Department over the leakage of the Philips' Report. He invaded Secretary of State Hull several times a day and stormed as probably only a conscientious Christian can, a conduct unknown, unprecedented in the diplomatic history of the American State Department. This stately sonorous Department then let loose what may be

aptly termed, Gestappo methods, in trying to track down the villain of the piece, the man who had spilt the Philips Report. "Suspects" in the State Department were arrested, put through 'questioning', their desks and homes searched. The office of the Indian minister in Washington was put under heavy armed guards. American diplomats in India, were called upon to send in their "individual" opinion on the Indian question. It was clear from this that striking a pro-Indian note would mean a double-quick passage home. At least one important American diplomat in India who had until then been submitting correct and faithful reports on India, decided overnight to turn the right type of diplomat and henceforth speak only the correct diplomatic language of his boss in the State Department.

A comic sidelight is provided to this sorry incident by the admission that the leakage of the Philips report and its publication in the press made President Roosevelt read it for the first time! Had not some impish hand extricated it from the State Department files, not even the Big Boss would have known how literally and faithfully his Special Envoy to this unhappy land, had tried to fulfil his mission : to discover how India can be best made to serve in the successful prosecution of the war. For let us not forget that Philips was not indulging in any of his personal whims or sentiments when he recorded his views nor was his report made out just to champion the cause of Indian freedom. He had merely pointed out the flaws in the war-machine and suggested ways and means of strengthening the American fighting bases. Still as this seemed to imply a liquidation of the British Empire or rather a fear of it, Philips had to quit. General Stilwell's sharing and sponsoring of Philips' views, was said to have also been one of the last straws that broke his already strained link with the

East and cut him off from his Eastern moorings for ever. India and the colonies could not have been more impressively told where they stood in the future scheme of things.

Americans who are even aware of India's existence are a microscopic minority. Most of those public men, politicians, Congressmen and the like who occasionally bring up the Indian question, do so because it provides them with an ideal stick with which to beat England or the Washington Administration's foreign policy, or both. Many of them are as imperialist-minded and reactionary as the notorious imperialist Mr. Churchill.

The few talks and debates on India by Indian or American propagandists in the U.S. which are headlined with streamers in Indian newspapers are, with some very rare exceptions, completely blacked out from the American press or given a few lines in some insignificant corner. The avid American news-agencies and correspondents who cable out reams of this stuff to India because of the keen rivalry and competition amongst themselves, keep the other and incidentally the real side of the medal discreetly turned from us. Thus Indians in this country who passionately pounce on these columns and perhaps feel an extra warmth added to their morning tea by this spectacle of America's exuberant interest in Indian affairs, are pitifully unaware that it is no better than an Arabian Nights' legend.

Louis Fischer, discussing the possibilities of America evolving an anti-imperialist policy in Asia, says : "This is difficult and, perhaps, impossible. The U.S. may be on the verge of a colossal imperialist career which will exacerbate relations between Russia and Britain. The trouble is that if one or two big powers are imperialistic, all three will be imperialistic and then the suicidal wave will be on in earnest."

America's completely toeing the British line on inter-

national and particularly the colonial question in the last world war and in this, merely confirms our apprehension that she can never play an anti-imperialistic role, and were countries like India to pin their faith in America they would do so in vain. Col. Page in the last war, as President Roosevelt in this, with their men, laid the pipe-line for close collaboration with the British. England was all along allowed to carve out her sphere of influence in Europe and in the East by the U. S. bosses tacitly agreeing to let England make all political and economic decisions for the Mediterranean and the Near East. This was further stressed to include even distribution of Lease-lend material solely by the British as also the functioning of the U.N.R.A. under British direction. In fact this net-work is a normal peace-time mechanism merely carried over and converted into a war-time alliance. Truly has Quincy Howe, celebrated American writer and commentator, described it as a sample of "blood is thicker than water!" It is, therefore, not surprising that neither death's last-minute interruption by removing Roosevelt, England's best friend, nor his replacement by one not so good a friend of the country, completely upset the Anglo-American apple-cart although the apples have by now begun to turn sour.

At San Francisco the U.S. hitched its wagon in the same direction as England. If anything its role was more reactionary. Both successfully opposed the principle of independence for the colonial people. America's current policies in the "liberated" colonies are as disquieting as those of England, France or Holland. Although she has drawn a tight veil over the Philippine scene, it is known that she has allied herself with the reactionary feudal interest there and continues to suppress the more militant and progressive forces who organised the guerilla bands and

fought the Japanese armies shoulder to shoulder with the U. S. only the other day. The conscious and organised peasantry having established its claim to political freedom, seeking to come into its own, is being thwarted by the U.S. trying to bolster up the decadent landed interests which have always been the backbone of the U.S. rule in those islands.

Even more distressing are the developments in Korea. In the Cairo declaration Korea was done the unique honour of being given a special assurance—the only colony in Asia to receive this—that it would become "free and independent in due course." What the Koreans obviously missed was that in these assurances to the subject people, the emphasis is always on the tail—the time element. That in fact is the crux of the whole problem. President Truman's announcement of a delay of uncertain length before the Koreans can manage their own affairs, is merely calculated to add insult to injury to a people who ruled themselves successfully for four thousand years, and might have to this day if the U.S. had not most shamefully betrayed them in 1905 by recognising Japanese suzerainty over Korea in return for Japanese acceptance of U. S. overlordship over the Philippines. As the British in India, so the Americans in Korea declare that as no group of Koreans represents the aspirations of the people *as a whole*, (a view not shared by any one who knows Korea) the resumption of full responsibility "will of necessity require time and patience." In the meantime Korea has to remain a ward under Two Trustees, one half to be administered by Russia, the other by America, its economic and social life cut up into opposing units, subject to completely diverse influences, to be shaped in two parallel directions.

The Moscow Conference recognised America's "special interest" in China and Japan. Recent developments

confirm that America plans to stay on in China rather than pull out of it. America is neck-deep in Chinese internal affairs, and the assigning of a personality of General Marshall's stature as Ambassador can only be interpreted to mean that America is out for vigorous action in that country and will bend all her power and prestige to mould its future destinies.

In Japan America reigns supreme, for although the new Allied council includes Russia and China besides the British Empire, the privilege of these members is to *sit* around the council table, for General MacArthur's single vote "shall be controlling." He still continues the Supreme Commander. He can make and unmake Japanese Governments overnight without so much as even glancing at this grand Allied Council. And signs are not wanting that the general takes his "Mikadoship" very seriously.

India remains the Crux of the problem, for world imperialism revolves round the pivot of the British Empire, and makes it the basic factor. It is not for nothing that the whole of the East from Cairo to Chungking kept shooting a single question at America in the person of Wendell Wilkie: "What about India?" The question is yet a suspended interrogation to the people of America as to that of all the United Nations.

America has made a bid for power and she emerges out of this as the strongest single power. The mighty arm of the British Empire was the British Navy. It is now more than over-shadowed by the U.S. Navy, which is already twice as big as the British. It is bigger today than the combined fleets of all the world on the eve of the war, three times the size of pre-Pearl Harbour and what the Americans call a real "Whopper". It consists of 5830 vessels of all types of which 482 are to be laid up under modern

methods of dehumidification done under modern scientific methods. The U.S. will have the biggest merchant marine, about 40 million tons, not to speak of tankers and passenger ships. Its (Navy's) air arm has been multiplied twenty times and we must not forget that this is only the beginning. For said the insatiable Secretary of the Navy : "The Navy programme is only a little more than half finished." The rest can be safely left to our imagination. This is of course in addition to the fact that U. S. A. is already the leading air power today in the world. What will the American people make of this dominant position? That too is a suspended interrogation. The love of liberty and the democratic urge in the American people is yet a sturdy element, which can thrive and burgeon into powerful action, given the necessary momentum. But America can play a beneficent role in world affairs only if she can do so within her own frontiers. For while she continues to be the monopoly-finance raj that she is today, her personality, attractive and magnetic as it is, will be overcast by this sinister shadow, her power for good diluted. Frankly the East does not love the Anglo-American group. It is as apprehensive of the post-war Anglo-American dominance as it was hitherto of the fascist powers, although the open expression of such sentiments may not naturally be so vocal or definite against America as against England.

The American people can yet become the liberating and democratising force in the world. But they can only do so when they liberate themselves from the shackles which still weigh them down in their own country, dethrone their oil, rubber and tin monarchs, and become the rulers in their own domain. For it is to the *people* of America that the peoples of the world look, it is in them that they signify faith, not in the Almighty Dollar.